

**The Nature of Design:
influences of landscape and environmental discourse
on the formation of the Australian and New Zealand
national park and museum.**

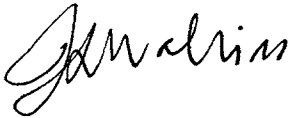
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**A thesis submitted for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University**

August 2009

Declaration

I declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any materials previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jillian Walliss', written in a cursive style.

Jillian Walliss
August 2009

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Abstract

This study analyses the Australian and New Zealand museum and the national park, contextualising the evolution of these distinct spaces and their associated practices against their particular histories of settlement and development. It focuses on the impact of the tumultuous political and theoretical revisions that originated in the 1970s which fundamentally challenged the manner in which ideas of nature and culture were conceived. It further examines the extent to which these revisions have altered the ways in which museums and national parks present the Australian and New Zealand environment and landscape.

This comparative case study provides an innovative analysis of four significant sites: the National Museums of Australia and New Zealand, and the two National Parks of Uluru-Kata Tjuta (formerly Ayers Rock-Mt Olga) and Tongariro. Importantly, the research framework acknowledges and maintains both the similarities and distinctions between these two types of national spaces. This is achieved through the conceptualisation of the national museum and the national park as ‘designed’ spaces constructed through four identifiable design practices: the display practice of the museum and the classificatory, interpretative, and representational practices of the national park. Specifically, this study asks, did the revisions of the 1970s reshape the designed spaces of the museum and national park?

A combined research method that encompasses historical analysis, textual analysis, and spatial analysis is adopted. The first section establishes the major motivations, practices and attributes that shaped the first hundred years of these spaces and provides a foundation for evaluating the impact of the political and theoretical revisions originating in 1970s. The second section shifts to an analysis of foundational documents, design briefs and management plans produced throughout the 1980s and 1990s to determine changes in the conceptualisation of nature, landscape and environment within institutional frameworks. The final section moves to the physical space of the national museums and national parks as evident between 2001-2007 to explore how the revised agendas have been translated into the space and form of the museum and national park.

This multi-disciplinary research exposes significant differences in how the revisions manifest in the four sites. In the case of Australia, the museum and the national park were

conceptually and physically reinvented (with mixed success) to accommodate the display of a 'peopled' environment and a 'cultural' national park premised on Aboriginal ownership. Change within the New Zealand sites was more limited. An emphasis on displays that bridged nature and culture evident within foundational design and exhibition briefs did not translate into the opening day museum, while the national park remained largely unchanged, despite government recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi. This study argues that the persistence of an 'ahistorical' framing of the New Zealand landscape, which is based not on environmental or cultural authenticity but instead on maintaining its capacity for re-invention for economic gain is significant to understanding the comparatively muted evidence of change in the New Zealand museum and park.

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Introduction

The Nature of Design Practice

In his landmark book *European Vision and the South Pacific* Bernard Smith described how the exploration of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific ‘stimulated European thought concerning the world of nature.’¹ It was through the newly-devised practices of natural history and landscape painting, observed Smith, that Europeans first conceived of the nature of these distant lands. These contrasting practices of science and aesthetics formed the foundations for the late-nineteenth century Australasian museums and national parks. While not unique to the colonies, the foundational role of these two practices was particular, coinciding as they did with the early stages of colonisation to produce distinctive attributes for the Australasian museum and national park. Throughout the twentieth century, new practices—often the application of an imported theory—continued to intersect with Australasian settler timelines, and together they shaped the content and displays of the museum as well as the management and tourist experience of the national park. The significance of these intersections remains largely unexplored, either lost to the inward focus of national or institutional historiographies or the generalities of the ‘settler experience,’ or absorbed within discipline-focused accounts of architecture, museology, landscape architecture or environmental planning.

This study examines one such intersection, the 1970s, considered a period of remarkable intensity of change for Australia and New Zealand. ‘National’ revisions of identity, indigenous land rights, and, in the case of New Zealand, economic restructuring, coincided with international developments in conservation and postmodernism to challenge fundamentally government policy and direction. This study examines the extent to which these revisions have altered the way that the Australian and New Zealand environment and landscape are currently presented in museums and national parks. Specifically, it asks have these significant shifts influenced the designed spaces of the museum and national park, and further asks what factors have influenced the degree of transformation achieved.

A Situated Practice

Commencing with the Sydney Colonial Museum, museums of natural history were quickly established throughout the Australasian colonies, emerging in Victoria (1854), South

¹ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, third edition ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960). p.1.

Australia (1861) and Queensland (1862), followed by Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington and Dunedin.² Colonial science and the museum served to position the unfamiliar nature and indigenous people of the colonies within the context of Imperial science, part of a 'European knowledge-building project.'³ The display practices and collections of the colonial museum therefore reflected a particular coincidence between the imperatives of colonial settlement and new visual practices for ordering and displaying natural history, which were shaped by three major objectives: first, to collect and document indigenous flora, fauna and peoples before their predicted disappearance; secondly, to develop a science of economics leading to an emphasis within early collections on the geological and mineral resources of the new colonies; and thirdly, to develop public institutions of equal benefit to colonial science and the broader public.⁴

Similarly, the introduction of the concept of the national park reflected the convergence of early economic motivations of colonisation with an imported aesthetic ideal, which together resulted in distinctive characteristics of the Australasian national park. The first of these, named simply National Park, was formed near Sydney in 1879, just seven years after the declaration of America's Yellowstone National Park, acclaimed as the world's first national park and the first example of large-scale preservation of wilderness for public interest.⁵ Tongariro National Park, New Zealand's first, was created in 1887 following the gifting of land to the Crown by Maori Paramount Chief Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino.⁶ Although considered the world's second and fourth examples respectively, National Park and Tongariro National Park share little other than name with the early American examples.

The American national park emerged following a complex aesthetic, philosophical and political revising of the once-hostile wilderness of America's West into a culturally revered landscape.⁷ This complicated transformation has been extensively documented by

² Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). p.18.

³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). p.38.

⁴ Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London: Routledge, 1999). p. 345.

⁵ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967). p. 108.

⁶ James Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore* (Wellington: Tongariro National Park Board, 1927). pp.30-31.

⁷ Lynn Ross-Bryant, "Sacred Sites: Nature and Nation in the U.S National Parks," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 15, no. 1 (2005). p.38.

American historians and scholars.⁸ Aided by the writings of Whitman, Thoreau and Emerson, who collectively promoted the spiritual and moral attributes of wilderness, the inspirational landscape paintings of the Hudson School artists, and the nationalistic writings of Frederick Jackson Turner that connected the conquering of wilderness with American democracy, an American national park movement emerged.⁹

In contrast, the nineteenth century antipodean national park reflected a diverse mix of influences and practices including utilitarian concern for the effects of environmental degradation, British ideals of recreation, a picturesque aesthetic, and the economic possibilities afforded by scenic tourism. An explicit connection between nationalism and landscape qualities did not emerge until the early twentieth century when landscape qualities were adopted as reference points for developing national distinctiveness in the newly Federated Australian colonies and the Dominion of New Zealand.

Australasian national parks in the nineteenth century therefore were national in name only, a position shared by nineteenth-century 'national' museums such as the National Museum of Victoria. The term 'national,' as historian Tim Bonyhady explains in the following quote, was actually reflective of colonial rivalry:

Far from suggesting that these lands were significant for all Australians, 'national' indicated that they were of colonial importance, just as 'national parks' were 'colonial parks', 'national galleries' were colonial galleries, and The National Game, as Arthur Streeton titled one of his paintings of 1889, was the Victorian game.¹⁰

This brief introduction to the foundations of the nineteenth-century Australasian museum and national park highlights two issues: the importance of positioning the imported concepts of the museum and national park in relation to the specific time frame of the Australasian colonies; and secondly, the significance of interrogating the museum and national park beyond simple terminologies such as 'national'. Instead this study highlights the manner in which design practices construct these spaces. This becomes particularly important in the examination of discourses of landscape, wilderness and nature. As landscape architect Kim Sorvig argues, concepts such as landscape and wilderness 'remain

⁸ See William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1995), Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), Richard Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁹ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1995). pp.76-77.

¹⁰ Tim Bonyhady, "The Stuff of Heritage," in *Prehistory to Politics: John Mulwaney and the Public Intellectual*, ed. Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffith (Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1997).p. 147.

elusive and irreducibly complex,' and reflect a relationship between nature and culture that is both culturally and temporally situated.¹¹

This study therefore proposes a 'situated' analysis of the museum and the national park, which contextualises the evolution of these spaces and their associated design practices within a specific settler chronology. Further, the cultural specificity of practice is explored through the comparison of Australian and New Zealand examples, considered the two 'most alike' settler nations.¹²

Time, Nature and the Settler Society

Historians have applied the term 'settler society' to the U.S., Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, a categorisation distinguished by displacement of the previous indigenous inhabitants in the colonial pursuit of a new society modelled on an imported Anglo ideal.¹³ Throughout the 1990s, scholars from environmental history, post-colonial studies and natural history began to explore how the experience of the settler society influenced its engagement with the nature of the New World. American historian Alfred W. Crosby's influential study *Ecological Imperialism*¹⁴ highlighted an ecological dimension to the European colonisers' vision, and inspired subsequent studies that were often comparative in structure.¹⁵

While this comparative lens disrupts the 'nation-state' framing that has dominated earlier historiographies, many of these studies seek to uncover a *commonality* of the settler experience. This emphasis on commonality is typified by Thomas Dunlap's much-cited *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand*, published in 1999. In his introduction, Dunlap acknowledges the different sequence of settlement and geographic ambit of the four nations.¹⁶ However, he goes on to

¹¹ Kim Sorvig, "Nature/Culture/Words/Landscapes," *Landscape Journal* 21, no. 2 (2002). pp.1-2.

¹² Australia and New Zealand's shared foundational history as southern British colonies and their original status as the colonies of Australasia established a common settler experience which continues today in what Robin and Griffiths describe as 'an affectionate and competitive cultural solidarity.' For further discussion see Libby Robin and Tom Griffiths, "Environmental History in Australasia," *Environment and History* 10, no. 4 (2004).

¹³ Thomas R. Dunlap, "Ecology and Environmentalism in the Anglo Settler Societies," in *Ecology & Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, ed. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997). p.76.

¹⁴ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

¹⁵ See collection of essays in Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin, eds., *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1997).

¹⁶ Dunlap acknowledges the different settlement dates of each nation stating 'The Anglo history of North American goes back two hundred years before Anglos arrived in Australia, and the United States was a nation sixty years before the Treaty of Waitangi established a British Colony in New Zealand.'

diminish these significant differences by arguing 'that national attitudes are a matter of statistics,' claiming that 'each Anglo society had the full range of ideas and attitude, but in different proportions.'¹⁷ He continues:

...it is abundantly clear that there are many discussions about nature in these countries that are variations on a common theme. Everywhere people spoke of parks, wilderness, wildlife, and the environment. Even without their references to events and ideas from elsewhere, it was clear that they were talking about the same things...¹⁸

Dunlap's study privileges a shared experience over difference. Further, the broad scope of his study, encompassing an examination of museums, literature, art, national parks, and education, contributes to the absorption of critical variations. For example, he concludes by stating broadly that 'Australian and New Zealand parks survived with little management simply because fewer people used them.'¹⁹

This study departs from Dunlap's approach by examining commonalities and differences in the settler experience through a comparison of the settler societies of Australia and New Zealand, and by conducting a detailed examination of four specific examples of the national park and national museum to interrogate Dunlap's claims of 'common themes' in 'different proportions.'

Shared Origins, Distinctive Environments

Despite Australia and New Zealand's shared origins as seven colonies of Australasia and their close geographic proximity, trans-Tasman analysis emerged as a scholarly focus only in the late 1990s. Previously, historians of both countries constructed national histories that neglected historical parallels and connections and instead focused on 'what makes a nation distinctive.'²⁰ The collection of essays *Quicksands: Foundation histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand* published in 1999 was particularly influential in promoting a trans-Tasman perspective, demonstrating the value of dislocating the frame of national history.²¹ This was followed in 2000 by the release of Denoon, Mein-Smith, and Wyndham's comparative study *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*.²²

¹⁷ Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*. p.13.

¹⁸ Ibid. p.13.

¹⁹ Ibid.p.123.

²⁰ Ann Curthoys, "Cultural History and the Nation," in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed. Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003). p. 29.

²¹ Klaus Neumann, Nicholas Thomas, and Hilary Ericksen, eds., *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999). p.xix.

²² Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein-Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

A trans-Tasman analysis of the museum and national park is particularly valuable as, while culturally similar, Australia and New Zealand are physically distinctive environments, which provides an additional lens for amplifying differences in attitudes towards and practices of nature and landscape.

From the very first European encounter, Australian flora, fauna and indigenous people conformed to European perceptions of ‘upside-down’ perversity. Joseph Arnold proclaimed in 1810 that that the landscape of NSW ‘was as strange to me as if I had become an inhabitant of the moon.’²³ In marked contrast, New Zealand’s two small geologically-active islands, defined by mountains, active volcanoes and temperate rainfall, offered a mix of the familiar – mountainous terrain – and the extraordinary, including flightless birds and an absence of mammals. These significant environmental differences were reflected in the foundational narratives of colonisation. Australia’s landscape and its indigenous occupants were considered so ‘environmentally primitive’ that scientists feared the development of a ‘half-caste society.’²⁴ Environmental concerns combined with the forced migration of convicts between 1788 and 1856 and these anxieties created an image of the Australian colonies as inferior to the overtly-utopian settlement agendas of New Zealand.

Although beginning as an extension of the colony of NSW, New Zealand’s colonial identity was free of convict stigma. The New Zealand Company, Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s colonising venture, viewed the fertile soils and temperate climate as a landscape of productivity and abundance, an image essential for enticing ‘appropriate’ free settlers to support the company’s land speculation. According to environmental historian Geoff Park, Europeans imagined New Zealand ‘as a garden and a pasture in which the best elements of British society might grow up into an ideal nation.’²⁵

Attitudes of landscape superiority were mirrored in colonial relationships with indigenous people. Maori were considered the highest of the primitive; the Australian Aboriginal was relegated to the lowest of the primitive, perceived as an ancient relic. This assessment was influential in the decision not to negotiate a Treaty between the colonisers and indigenous

²³ Richard Neville, *A Rage for Curiosity: Visualising Australia 1788-1830* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1997).p.17.

²⁴Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996). p.151.

²⁵Geoff Park, *Nga Uruora: The Groves of Life Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995). p.13.

peoples of Australia, an act that positioned Australia as ‘the exception to the British formula of securing consent from indigenous people by a treaty of cessation.’²⁶ Instead, the doctrine of *terra nullius* was applied.²⁷ In contrast, the British negotiated the Treaty of Waitangi with Maori on February 6, 1840, an act commonly acknowledged as the ‘crucial difference culturally and constitutionally’ between Australia and New Zealand.²⁸ Signed by representatives of the British Crown and some 540 Maori chiefs, the Treaty was not a lengthy document and was structured around three Articles drafted into the two languages of English and Maori. While Maori agreed to allow the Crown some law-making authority, the Article drafted in Maori, unlike the English version, maintained political authority, as well as ownership of land, settlement, physical treasures, cultural knowledge and language.²⁹ This discrepancy between the Articles contributes to ongoing tensions between the Crown and iwi³⁰ in the same manner that the lack of a Treaty continues to trouble Aboriginal Australians.

Research Design

This research is structured as a comparative case study analysis, which is recognised as a distinctive research method for the design disciplines. Importantly this approach allows for the exploration of designed space in ‘relation to the complex dynamics with which it intersects.’³¹ Within design research, case analysis has the capacity to ground theory, an approach that differs from other research traditions. While social sciences value the importance of establishing a ‘representative’ sample, case study analysis within the context of design, as Robert Yin argues, allows us to explore and explain why things occur, the findings of which are then tested in further research. This project maximises the research potential of case study analysis through empirical comparisons (museum with museum, national park with national park in two countries); in addition it overlays these comparisons at a theoretical level, by conceiving of the national museum and national park as designed spaces.³² This theoretical approach, informed principally by design studies, forms the major point of innovation and originality of the study.

²⁶ Denoon, Mein-Smith, and Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*. p.123.

²⁷ At no time did any indigenous group in Australia cede their sovereignty to foreign or Australian governments.

Indigenous Australians were considered to have no rights under native title until the 1992 Supreme Court ruling on the Mabo case.

²⁸ Denoon, Mein-Smith, and Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*.p.123.

²⁹ Ewan Morris, "History Never Repeats? The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History," *Compass History Australasia and Pacific*. p.1.

³⁰ Iwi is a Maori word for tribal grouping. This study includes many Maori words that are in common usage in New Zealand. These terms are translated within the text and are also included within a Maori glossary.

³¹ Linda Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002).p.347

³² For more information on case study analysis and design see Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, ed. 2nd (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication, 1994).

Selecting the Museums

The National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (hereafter referred to as Te Papa), completed in 2001 and 1998 respectively, comprise the museum case studies. Together they represent Australia and New Zealand's premier national museums. However Australia's origin as multiple colonies created difficulties in establishing a colonial foundation for the National Museum of Australia. Colonial and later state rivalries produced ambiguous definitions of national institutions, leaving Australia without a 'single' national museum until the opening of the National Museum of Australia.³³ Consequently, the National Museum of Victoria, a significant colonial and later state museum, serves as a suitable foundation in this study for the National Museum of Australia, given its twentieth century development as a comprehensive museum.³⁴ In contrast, New Zealand's status as a single colony produced an unbroken lineage between the earliest museums (Wellington's Colonial Museum) and Te Papa.

A new scholarly interest in display practice and museum purpose emerged in the late twentieth century following the rise of the concept of the 'new museum.'³⁵ The construction of new national museums for Australia and New Zealand provided the opportunity to apply the display approaches advocated by the 'new museum,' and have subsequently attracted the attention of many Australasian museum scholars. Message, Henare, Neill, Williams and McCarthy have all examined the translation of the theoretical premise of the 'new museum' combined with new post colonial national identities of bi-culturalism and multi-culturalism within the high profile museums³⁶ Studies such as Conal

³³ For a discussion on the absence of a national museum in Australia see Margaret Anderson and Andrew Reeves, "Contested Identities: Museums and the Nation in Australia," in *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity*, ed. Flora S. Kaplan (London ; New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), James Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, The University of Melbourne, 2002), Libby Robin, "Collections and the Nation: Science, History and the National Museum of Australia," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 14 (2003).

³⁴ During their twentieth century development, other comparable 'state' museum such as the Australian Museum in Sydney and the South Australian Museum in Adelaide maintained a stronger focus on science and anthropology, with less emphasis on European history. The National Museum of Victoria however evolved into a museum shaped by science and an emerging settler culture and has been well documented by scholars.

³⁵ The concept of the 'new museum' introduced a new direction for the late twentieth century museum world wide. Closely intertwined with post modernism, the new museum emerged from dissatisfaction with the cultural authority of museums, a position increasingly difficult to maintain given the fracture of homogenous notions of national communities and social groups. Instead the new museum advocated for more diverse representations of community and identity, necessitating a shift not only in museum content, but also display techniques.

³⁶ Amiria Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand," *Social Analysis* Spring, no. 48 (2004), Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007), Kylie Message, "Exhibiting Visual Culture: Narrative, Perception and the New Museum" (Ph.D, The University of Melbourne, 2002), Kylie Message, "The New Museum," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2-3 (2007), Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford, UK; NY, NY: Berg, 2006), Paul Williams, "New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, Melbourne University, 2003).

McCarthy's *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*, published in 2007, adopted a genealogical analysis to explore the major shifts in exhibition practices of Maori culture in New Zealand over a 150-year period.³⁷ A small number of comparative studies have emerged such as Gore's historical analysis of the two museums³⁸ and Veracini and Muckle's examination of indigenous history at the National Museum of Australia, Te Papa and New Caledonia's Centre Culturel Jean -Marie Tjibaou.³⁹

A parallel museum discourse is found within architecture and design where scholars such as Hamann, Jencks, Macarthur, Niven, Hunt, Linzey, Walker and Clark⁴⁰ as well as the designer's themselves (Howard Raggatt, Richard Weller and Pete Bossley)⁴¹ have explored how the museum architecture spatially and symbolically engages new post colonial national identities as well as the altered purpose of the new museum.

Whereas the nineteenth-century colonial museum with its focus on natural history attracted extensive scholarly research by historians including Bewell, Griffiths, Finney, Greenblatt, Kohlstedt, Sheets-Pyenson, Yanni and Bennett, comparatively little attention has focused on the representation of nature and environment within the National Museum of Australia and Te Papa.⁴² Tony Bennett offers a particularly practice-focused analysis, examining the impact of 'evolution and the politics of vision' on the progression from the classification techniques of the Enlightenment museum to the linear sequences supported by

³⁷ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*.

³⁸ Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa".

³⁹ Lorenzo Veracini and Adrian Muckle, "Reflections of Indigenous History *inside* the National Museums of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand and *Outside* of New Caledonia's Centre Culturel Jean -Marie Tjibaou," *The Electronic Journal of Australian and New Zealand history*.

⁴⁰ See Conrad Hamann, "Enigma Variations: The National Museum of Australia and Aiatsis Centre," *Art Monthly*, no. 138 (2001), John Hunt, "Biculturalism, National Identity and Architectural Symbolism," *Architecture New Zealand* Nov/Dec (1990), Charles Jencks, "Constructing a National Identity," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002), Michael P.T. Linzey, "The Point of Te Papa," in *Third International Symposium of the Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture*, ed. Samer Akkach (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 2002), John Macarthur, "Australian Baroque: Geometry and Meaning at the National Museum of Australia," *Architecture Australia* 90, no. 2 (2001), Stuart Niven, "Bicultural Condition at Museum's Heart," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Sept/Oct (1992), Paul Walker and Justine Clark, "Museum and Archive: Framing the Treaty," in *On Display: New Essays in Cultural Studies*, ed. Anna Smith and Lydia Weaver (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004).

⁴¹ See Pete Bossley, *Te Papa: An Architectural Adventure* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 1998), Howard Raggatt, "Visible and Invisible Space," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002), Richard Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 21, no. Australian Issue: Part 1 (2001).

⁴² See Alan Bewell, "Romanticism and Colonial Natural History," *Studies in Romanticism* 43, no. 1 (2004), Colin Finney, *Paradise Revealed: Natural History in Nineteenth Century Australia* (Melbourne: Museum of Victoria, 1993), Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Place: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Australian Museums of Natural History: Public Priorities and Scientific Initiatives in the 19th Century," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 5, no. 4 (1983), Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Historical Records in Australian Museums of Natural Science," *Historical Bibliography Bulletin* 10, no. September (1984), Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*, Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

evolutionary time and the historical sciences.⁴³ Unlike prominent international examples such as the American Museum of Natural History, London's Natural History Museum and the Museum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris, which have attracted extensive analyses of the display of nature, no such analysis has been constructed for the twentieth-century Australasian museum.

Scholars including Asma, Davis, Haraway, together with Karen Wonder's extensive analysis of the habitat diorama, provide an understanding of the evolving twentieth century display practices of the European and American museums of natural history.⁴⁴ Conversely Australasian museum scholars have focused on an emerging settler history, an emphasis which continues in the extensive research which interrogates the representation of new post-colonial identities within the National Museum of Australia and Te Papa. Discussion of the display of environment and nature within these two museums is limited to academics and curators who have had direct involvement in shaping the exhibition program such as Robin, Smith and Hicks.⁴⁵ John M. MacKenzie offers a rare independent perspective, developing a critique of environmental history within Te Papa.⁴⁶

This study contributes to this gap in scholarly work by offering a focused analysis of the display of environment and landscape within the new national museums. Importantly, this study not only offers a comparative analysis but also contextualises these new display practices in relation to approaches evident in the late nineteenth and twentieth century Australian and New Zealand museum, which provides a valuable frame for evaluating innovation.

⁴³ See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex.", Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London;New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁴⁴ See Stephen T. Asma, *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), Peter Davis, *Museums and the Natural Environment: The Role of Natural History Museums in Biological Conservation* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), Karen Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History* (ACTA: Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1993). Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi & Claire Farago (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishers, 2004).

⁴⁵ Geoff Hicks, "Natural History in the Environmental Age," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001), Robin, "Collections and the Nation: Science, History and the National Museum of Australia.", Mike Smith, "A History of Ways of Seeing the Land: Environmental History at the National Museum of Australia," *Curator* 46, no. 1 (2003).

⁴⁶ John M MacKenzie, "People and Landscape: The Environment and National Identities in Museums," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001).

Selecting the National Park

The selection of an appropriate Australian 'national' park poses a similar problem to the Australian 'national' museum, given a 'national' park system did not exist until the 1970s. Uluru-Kata Tjuta national park however emerges as the logical inclusion for a study concerned with national space. Although only 'officially' declared in 1958, the park was transformed during the late twentieth century into a national icon, followed by World heritage cultural and natural landscape listing. It has been selected for its ability to transcend state rivalries and be accepted as a national park representative of the nation. The inclusion of New Zealand's Tongariro National Park was straight forward, having evolved from New Zealand's first national park into a significant national space, also recognised as a World heritage cultural and natural landscape.

Review of literature concerning the two national parks presents a far more dispersed field than the tightly defined discourse of museum studies. Instead the duality of the national park which sees it understood as both a physical 'scientific' environment and a constructed 'cultural' space finds it discussed across multiple disciplines including history, anthropology, land management, law, cultural studies, literature, art history, tourism, environmental science, landscape architecture, environmental planning and management. These studies demonstrate the national park's diverse role and meaning simultaneously conceived as inspiration for art, literature and film,⁴⁷ a contested site for indigenous land rights,⁴⁸ an internationally and nationally acclaimed heritage site⁴⁹ and ecologically unique arid and volcanic landscapes.⁵⁰ This dispersed discourse is paralleled by discrete histories that focus

⁴⁷ Roslynn D. Haynes, *Seeking the Centre: The Australian Desert in Literature, Art and Film* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998), Eric Pawson, "The Meanings of Mountains," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002). Ann McGrath, "Travels to a Distant Past: The Mythology of the Outback," *Australian Cultural History* 10 (1991).

⁴⁸ John Cordell, "Who Owns the Land? Indigenous Involvement in Australian Protected Areas," in *Indigenous Peoples & Protected Areas: The Law of Mother Earth*, ed. Elizabeth Kemj (London: Earthscan, 1993), Donna Craig, "Environmental Law and Aboriginal Rights: Legal Framework for Aboriginal Joint Management of Australian National Parks," in *Aboriginal Involvement in Parks and Protected Areas*, ed. Terry de Lacy and Laura Jane Smith Jim Birkhead (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992), Jacinta Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience," *Indigenous Law Journal* 3 (2004). Brad Coombes and Stephanie Hill, "'Na Whenua, Na Tuhoe. Ko D.O.C. Te Partner' - Prospects for Comangement of Te Urewara National Park," *Society and Natural Resources* 18 (2005), T De Lacy and B Lawson, "The Uluru-Kakadu Model: Joint Management of Aboriginal-Owned National Parks in Australia," in *Conservation through Cultural Survival: Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas*, ed. S. Stevens (Washington: Island Press, 1997), Sarah James, "Negotiating the Climb: Uluru - a Site of Struggle or a Shared Space?," in *Research Paper No 24* (Melbourne: School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, The University of Melbourne, 2005).

⁴⁹ Richard Baker, "Interpreting Heritage within the Contested Landscape of Uluru," (Human Geography series, ANU, 2004), Anna Carr, "Mountain Places, Cultural Spaces: The Interpretation of Culturally Significant Landscapes," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 12, no. 5 (2004), Justine Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites," *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 1 (2003), Ken Gelder and Jane M Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ Lois Anderson, *Tongariro: A Volcanic Environment* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1995), D Lawrence, "Managing Parks/Managing 'Country': Joint Management of Aboriginal Owned Protected Areas in Australia," (Canberra:

exclusively on the historical development of Tongariro and Uluru- Kata Tjuta National Park.⁵¹

Comparative analysis of the two parks is rare. Examples are limited to broad brush analysis of national parks examined within the context of the settler society as reflected in Dunlap's *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand*.⁵² Jane Carruther's work offers an exception, developing a comparison between Uluru-Kata Tjuta and South African national parks.⁵³ However no comprehensive comparative analysis of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta national parks exists, despite their shared recognition as national and globally iconic landscapes.

Comparing the Museum and National Park

While there is some evidence of comparative analysis based on literal replication (comparing museum with museum, national park with national park), there are no studies that compare the national park and the national museum in Australia or New Zealand, either with a focus on a singular country, nor as a trans-Tasman comparison. This is surprising given their shared prominence as first colonial and now national space that engage with the natural world. This absence can be partly understood by the difficulties faced in comparing such different types of spaces: the physical environment of the national park and the representational space of the museum.

Internationally, limited examples of comparative analysis of the American museum and national park are apparent. However this work does not present a comprehensive analysis but instead adopts the lens of the national park as an 'outdoor museum.' Analysis of the national park emerging from museology and heritage studies often assumes that the act of

Parliamentary Research Service, 1996), Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Plan of Management," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2000). Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro," (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2006).

⁵¹ See Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore*. Department of Conservation and Tongariro Natural History Society, *The Restless Land: Stories of Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area* (Turangi: Department of Conservation, 1998). Robert Layton, *Uluru, an Aboriginal History of Ayers Rock* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1986). W.E. Harney, *To Ayers Rock and Beyond* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1963), Barry Hill, *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994).

⁵² Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*.

⁵³ Jane Carruthers, "Contesting Cultural Landscapes in South Africa and Australia: Comparing the Significance of the Kalahari Gemsbok and Uluru -Kata Tjuta National Parks," in *Disputed Territories: Land, Culture and Identity in Settler Societies*, ed. David Trigger and Gareth Griffiths (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Press, 2003), Jane Carruthers, "Nationhood and National Parks: Comparative Examples from the Post-Imperial Experience," in *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, ed. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1997).

conserving a cultural site or a natural habitat is 'simply the application of museological techniques.'⁵⁴ For example, Thomas Patin concludes that American national parks:

are essentially museological institutions, not because they preserve and conserve, but because they employ many of the techniques of display, exhibition, and presentation that have been used by museums to organise and regulate the vision of visitors.⁵⁵

Patin's position however does not account for all the 'non-museum' like attributes of the national park. Instead this approach privileges the characteristics of the museum and subsequently diminishes the substantial differences between the two spaces.

This comparative study is distinctive for the exploration of the national museum and national park within a research framework that acknowledges and maintains difference between the two spaces, as distinct from adopting the museum as a lens to understand the national park or vice versa. This is achieved through the conceptualisation of the national museum and the national park as 'designed' spaces constructed through four identifiable design practices: the display practice of the museum and the classificatory, interpretative, and representational practices of the national park.

Display practice involves the design of representational frameworks in which to place objects, with the ambition of communicating knowledge. The museum therefore is not distinctive for its collections of objects but instead, as philosopher Beth Lord argued, for establishing relations between 'things and conceptual structures,' the foundations of display practice.⁵⁶ Display therefore involves the curation of artefact within a broader exhibition structure that may involve text, images, contextual backdrop, and more recently sound and digital media. This analysis also considers the role of museum architecture in establishing the gallery experience and sequences, as well as a meta narrative for the museum.

Analysis of design practices associated with the national park requires an engagement with the park as both physical and representational space, and is complicated by the expansive scale of the national park. The first is a 'classificatory' practice that zones and delineates land into planning units, and which includes providing broad-scale infrastructure such as accommodation, tourist facilities, and access roads. This broad scale management strategy is overlaid by a more detailed 'interpretive' layer that includes provision of viewing points, in-situ interpretation, walks and interpretive centres that together 'guide' tourist interactions

⁵⁴ Peter Davis, *Eco-Museums: A Sense of Place* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999). pp. 15-16.

⁵⁵ Thomas Patin, "Exhibition and Empire: National Parks and the Performance of Manifest Destiny," *Journal of American Culture* 22, no. 1 (1999).p.41.

⁵⁶ Beth Lord, "Foucault's Museum: Difference, Representation and Genealogy," *Museum and Society* 4, no. 1 (2006). p.5.

with the landscape. Finally, there is a third representational practice that is experienced and produced from outside the space of the national park, which circulates representations of the park through tourist brochures, photography, guidebooks, souvenirs, and advertisements.

This final practice, while existing independently from the physical space, is influential in the experience of the physical environment, informing tourist engagement with and expectation of space, as well as embedding acceptable behaviour and activities.⁵⁷ Together, these three practices construct what cultural theorist John Urry describes as a 'hermeneutic circle,' fluctuating between the physical and representational space of the national park, operating simultaneously as an environmental continuum and a landscape representation.⁵⁸

The display practices of the museum and the classificatory, interpretative, and representational practices of the national park form the basis for developing a comparative analysis of the museum and national park. However in order to develop a 'situated' analysis which explores the influence of cultural and political change on design practice, it is necessary to adopt a multi-disciplinary research strategy.

A Multi-disciplinary Research Strategy

To disciplinary purists, a research strategy that mixes methods from different disciplines can still be considered suspect. Within the context of design which is inherently a multi-disciplinary pursuit, combined methods provides a complementary triangulation that allows the consideration of design from multiple perspectives. As Groat and Wang state '[D]espite the assorted pitfalls and challenges, it is our contention that combined research strategies in architecture represent an enormous opportunity.'⁵⁹ A combined research strategy is essential for exploring design practice beyond its disciplinary confines. In the context of this study, the challenges of adopting a research methodology with few established rules or precedents are outweighed by its ability to generate new insights and uncover new knowledge by breaking from established disciplinary boundaries.

⁵⁷ J.Keri Cronin, "Manufacturing National Park Nature: Photography, Ecology and the Wilderness Industry of Jasper National Park" (Doctor Of Philosophy, Queen's University, 2004).pp 4-8.

⁵⁸ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990).

⁵⁹ Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods.*, p. 370.

Breaking from Disciplinary Limitations

The limitations of disciplinary delineation are well demonstrated by critiques of the Garden of Australian Dreams, the centrepiece of the National Museum of Australia designed by landscape architects Room 4.1.3. Critique originating from within the discipline of landscape architecture by theorists such as Connolly, Barnett and Raxworthy, together with the writings of one of the Garden's designers, Richard Weller, tends to emphasise the design's position within a canon of landscape architecture.⁶⁰ Significance of the work is typically established in one of two ways, either in relation to the individual practice of designer Weller, or in relation to theoretical developments in landscape architecture.

Acknowledgement of the design's physical and intellectual context within the museum is absent within this analytical framework. Instead the museum is treated as simply an inert backdrop to the work itself, which is delineated as both an example *and* a practice of landscape architecture. This de-contextualisation of design practice within disciplinary boundaries not only leads to false assumptions of originality, but even more significantly, limits the understanding of the design's contribution and innovation to the museum.

An equally problematic relationship to design is evident in the humanities driven disciplines (cultural, visual, post colonial or museum studies) that study designed spaces of the museum. This knowledge is characterised by a tendency to subsume the complexity of design practice within cultural and political discourse. Instead design outcome is 'read' as text or as the materialisation of discourse. Analysis of display practice in this approach often remains thematic.⁶¹ While productive for the examination of culture as *reflected* by design, these approaches have limited value for advancing design practice.

As cultural theorist Tony Bennett states, in the case of the museum, 'dissolving' objects into text to make them 'readable as ideologies' fails to acknowledge the different qualities objects acquire as they are reconfigured in different practices and 'the distinctive operations, procedures, and manipulations through which different knowledges create new

⁶⁰ See Rod Barnett, "Field of Signs," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Melbourne: The Images Publishing Group, 2002), Peter Connolly, "Cowboy Critical: The Antipodean Practice of Room 4.1.3," in *Room 4.1.3: Innovations in Landscape Architecture*, ed. Richard Weller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Julian Raxworthy, "Room 4.1.3 and Australian Landscape Architecture," in *Room 4.1.3: Innovations in Landscape Architecture*, ed. Richard Weller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams."

⁶¹ See Bella Dicks, *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visibility* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2003), Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000), Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

entities.’⁶² Bennett argues that this pays little attention to the technical procedures of the museum, and instead focuses on largely abstract questions ‘by positing homologies between the intellectual structure of particular knowledges and museum arrangements.’⁶³

Bennett’s position is shared by museum theorist Sharon Macdonald:

The model does not allow for the investigation of whether indeed there is such a neat fit between production, text and consumption. It supposes both too clear-cut a conscious manipulation by those involved in creating exhibitions and too passive and unitary a public; and it ignores the often competing agendas involved in exhibition-making, the ‘messiness’ of the process itself, and the interpretative agency of visitors.⁶⁴

Discourse analysis omits the context to which designers relate. This relationship is established in two manners. Textual documents such as competition briefs and design briefs clearly establish the functional and theoretical scope to which designers must respond. A second factor is found within the specific characteristics of design practice, which involves the combination of technical, programmatic, aesthetic and material considerations into what is considered an ‘appropriate’ response.⁶⁵ Consequently the scope for innovation is not open-ended, but instead is influenced by the aspirations of the brief as well as the limitations inherent to each design practice. For example while museum architecture might aim to represent a new national identity, this must be accommodated alongside a range of other complex functional requirements.

Despite a late twentieth century embracement of inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary approaches, disciplinary boundaries still limit out understandings of designed cultural spaces such as the museum. In the case of the Garden of Australian Dreams, while the work may be innovative within the scope of landscape architecture, it may share similarities with display practice within the museum. A critique based solely within the design disciplines however disregards this aspect. In the case of humanities driven analysis, a limited understanding of design practice and motivations *prior* to theoretical or political revision can lead to false claims of newness. As museum curator and academic Andrea Witcomb argues analysis of the ‘new museum’ often assumes ‘a radical break with the past’ although in many instances it can be traced to historical precedent.⁶⁶

⁶² Tony Bennett, "Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood, and the Governance of the Social," *Cultural Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005).p.536.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 536.

⁶⁴ Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, eds., *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, *Sociological Review* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers/The Sociological Review, 1996). p.3.

⁶⁵ For a further discussion see Nigel Cross, *Designerly Ways of Knowing* (London: Springer, 2006).

⁶⁶ Witcomb, *Re-Imagining the Museum*. p.165.

This study aims to address this disciplinary impasse by proposing a situated analysis where the evolving manner in which environment and landscape are presented within the designed spaces of the museum and national park are contextualised within the parameters of design practice and the cultural specificity of Australia and New Zealand.

This scope necessitates a three-part mixed-method research strategy that encompasses historical analysis, textual analysis and spatial analysis. This combined research strategy offers an innovative research framework that will produce outcome relevant for both design disciplines and humanities. It is underpinned by the research tactic of comparing the national museum and the national park, typically considered unlike spaces, and focusing on Australian and New Zealand case studies. Certainly the expansive scope will attract criticism from scholars who work within more bounded enquiries of the museum or the national park, or adhere tightly to disciplinary research conventions. However this study offers a traverse across history, design, nationalism, science, culture and politics, all of which are influential in the complex cultural constructions of the national park and museum.

Study Structure

The first section involves an historical analysis of the four case studies. It draws on a range of primary and secondary sources including published institutional accounts and histories, guidebooks, government reports, tourist advertisements, photographs and plans to establish the major motivations, practices and attributes that shaped the first hundred years of these spaces. This phase is not intended as comprehensive historical analysis of the spaces nor institutions but instead establishes the practices that shaped these spaces prior to major political and theoretical revisions originating in 1970s.

Chapter One The National Museum: two genealogies documents and compares the major changes in the 'display of nature' that accompanied the evolution of Wellington's Colonial Museum and the National Museum of Victoria into comprehensive museums. I argue that while this genealogy of display certainly demonstrates the influence of 'imported' scientific paradigms (visual taxonomic classification, evolutionary series and ecology) and associated display conventions, distinctive framings of an 'indigenous' nature are evident within both museums. Contrasting temporal relationships were constructed between indigenous people and nation, and in the case of New Zealand an emphasis was placed on the rapid effects of

ecological change on the natural world as a result of colonisation. Further, while both museums adopted new ecological display techniques and an emphasis on education, aligning them with developments in American museums, I argue that this, coinciding with an emerging nationalism, produced a unique intersection between nature, nation, education and the museum, which combined to naturalise science and the citizen within the specifics of the Australian and New Zealand environment.

Chapter Two The National Park: two genealogies examines the foundational practices of Tongariro and Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Parks. I begin with Tongariro, examining the legislative foundations of the much-celebrated ‘gifting’ of the park by Maori to the Crown and uncovering motivations for the park’s development as both a representational and a physical space. I then turn to the unfolding relationship between wilderness, nationalism, tourism and the national park, which led to the re-conceptualisation of Tongariro as an iconic mountain wilderness and the recognition of the desert landscape of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga as a national park.

This analysis demonstrates that landscape representations produced outside the institutional space of the parks (which in the case of New Zealand were generated largely by the tourist industry), were the dominant influence shaping the twentieth century parks. It also reveals a major disparity in constructions of wilderness—namely a ‘peopled’ wilderness of Ayers Rock contrasted with the pristine ‘ahistorical’ wilderness of Tongariro, constructions I argue mirror the representation of indigenous people within the museum.

The second section of the study shifts to an analysis of key primary texts including legislation, foundational documents, design briefs and management plans produced from the 1970s and continuing throughout the 1980s and 1990s. *Chapter Three Re-conceptualising Nature in the National Museum* explores how the political constructions of multiculturalism and biculturalism, together with the post-modern display practices proposed by the ‘new museum’ altered the conceptualisation and realisation of displays of the natural world within the museum. This is followed in *Chapter Four Re-introducing Culture in the National Park* by an examination of the impact of the recognition of native title on the ownership, legislative and management structures of the two parks.

Drawing on the previous research phase, I identify major challenges to design practice that emerge from these revisions. In the case of the museum, a heightened emphasis on the representation of national identity shifted the guiding parameters for display from scientific or disciplinary paradigms to the demand to be 'representative' of the nation. Secondly, the reframing of the museum as a site for self-determination and cultural resurgence for indigenous people has produced polarised representations, namely a 'national' nature paralleled by geographic and culturally-specific displays of an indigenous place.

I argue that the repositioning of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park as an Aboriginal national park initiated a theoretical and political convergence with the philosophies underpinning both museums. These measures went beyond the changes evident in the National Museums, which had proposed the representation of a 'national' nature *alongside* indigenous perspectives of place. In a more radical revision, the re-conceptualisation of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga was premised on the *replacement* of its earlier framing as an iconic national landscape with an indigenous cultural paradigm, reinventing the park as an Anangu cultural landscape now known as Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park.

In contrast, despite the government recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi, Tongariro has remained largely unchanged. Instead, like all of New Zealand's conservation estate, Tongariro has remained positioned outside the political reconfiguration of New Zealand as a bicultural nation, and maintained its identity as a space to be 'shared' by all New Zealanders.

The final phase of the research moves to the physical space of the national museums and national parks as evident between 2001-2007 to establish how the revised agendas and intent have been translated into the form and space of the museum and national park. This analysis focuses on the designed outcome. This emphasis differs from methods adopted in tourism, museum and heritage studies which incorporate visitor analysis or post occupancy evaluation, aiming to understand how visitors respond to spaces and displays.

Instead this analysis focuses on the outcome of design practices. Within the context of design it is extremely important to document in detail what was, and equally important, what *was not* developed, particularly as the museum and national park are not enduring spaces but in a constant state of flux. Importantly, the previous two phases of analysis

allows for a clear understanding of degrees of change and innovation, providing a measure for establishing newness and revealing continuity.

Chapter Five Nature, Nation and the National Museums focuses on the architecture and the opening day exhibition thematic. Two contrasting representations of a 'national' nature become apparent. Consistent with design briefs, the National Museum of Australia presented a cultural landscape that challenged spatial delineations of architecture and landscape and exhibition boundaries of nature and culture. In contrast, the design of Te Papa, despite intentions otherwise, symbolically, spatially and thematically reinforced binaries of nature and culture. While this outcome no doubt reflects the convergence of multiple political and functional issues, I argue that these contrasting outcomes owe much to the heightened role of the museum as an active agent in identity construction which shifted the representation of nature from environment (science) to landscape (identity), a challenge identified in Chapter Three.

In the case of Te Papa, this repositioning of the museum, combined with the intention to present interwoven histories of people and environment, created conflict between a national landscape image increasingly premised upon purity and scientific realities of extensive and rapid ecological modification. In contrast, the National Museum of Australia showcased environmental narratives, both positive and negative, a difference explained by a closer alignment between national landscape image and environmental realities.

Chapter Six Displaying Environment and Landscape examines the new display approaches focusing on environment and landscape evident at the National Museum of Australia: the environmental history of Tangled Destinies and external space of The Garden of Australian Dreams. I argue that three difficulties have emerged in the translation into display practice of the ambitious intellectual agendas of Tangled Destinies. A 'constructive intersection' between the three extant perspectives of natural, social and indigenous histories proved difficult to resolve. Curatorial display practices were eroded as a result of the emphasis on textual storytelling; and displays drawing together relationships between people and place outside the generalities of 'nation' were minimal.

I argue that these difficulties can be traced to the change in scope and production of displays that I identified in Chapter Three; namely, the impossibility of representing a

nation that encompasses an entire continent, further complicated by the intent to 'reconcile' the three temporally-disparate histories of Aboriginal people, settlers and geological deep time within a single exhibit, exacerbated by the separation of the conceptualisation and design of the displays. In contrast I argue that the 'material thinking' that underpins *The Garden of Australian Dreams* provides an alternative curatorial practice for addressing the ambitious geographical and temporal scope of the display of 'nation', as well as for displaying relationships between people and place not otherwise represented by 'authentic' artefact.

The final two chapters return to the national parks. *Chapter Seven A Cultural National Park* focuses on the physical space of the parks as they were in the period 2005-2007. This analysis reveals minimal change in the infrastructure and subsequent tourist experience of Tongariro National Park from pre-1970 to 2007. Experience of an unmodified environment is still championed, mirroring the environmental representations at Te Papa that assert environmental purity over modification. In contrast, major infrastructural changes are evident at post-hand back Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park.

Closer examination of the park's infrastructure, however, reveals a disjuncture between old and new park values: a 'new' interpretive layer of Anangu cultural values has simply been overlaid on the historic infrastructure of roads and viewing points, which maintains earlier patterns of spectacle and the centrality of the climb. Further, Aboriginal people are notably absent in their participation in the tourist industry. I argue that this demonstrates two shortcomings in the 'rewriting' of the park as a site of indigenous cultural and economic recovery. Educational agendas have been relied on to reshape tourist interactions, and these have been isolated from a more comprehensive spatial revision of the park. There has also been an assumption that formalising relationships between Anangu, tourism and the national park, aimed at elevating the cultural authority and economic position of the traditional owners, would prove beneficial.

Chapter Eight Representing the Park moves to the representational space of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks beginning with the Whakapapa Visitor Centre and the 'new' Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre. I show that the visitor-cultural centres express contrasting constructions of tourism. Whakapapa Visitor Centre is positioned as an 'information' centre, presenting vignettes of natural and cultural information. Consistent

with the management plan and park interpretive material, Maori cultural associations are limited to celebrating the gift, positioned as a 'prehistory' to the park. Conversely Uluru-Kata Tjuta's Cultural Centre, aligned with post-hand back values, showcases Anangu cultural perspectives of landscape. Closer examination of the tourist experience reveals an absence of Anangu occupation, which raises questions about the centre's success as a zone of 'meaningful contact,' a primary intention of hand back. I argue that this provides further evidence that the formalisation of relationships between Anangu, tourism and the national park has not proved successful.

Review of tourist representations of Uluru-Kata Tjuta also raises questions about management plan assumptions around controlling the imaging and the meaning of the national park. While there is certainly evidence of change in tourist industry representations, the absorption of Uluru into a global network of spiritual sites highlights the difficulties of 're-writing' the meaning of a globally-iconic landscape. The landscape instead operates as a site of personal meaning, a position shared by Tongariro National Park. The ambiguity this creates is aggravated in Tongariro's case by the New Zealand government branding strategies, which actively promote multiple readings, allowing Tongariro National Park to remain open to the economic benefits of tourism and, more recently, 'creative entrepreneurialism.'

The final chapter steps back from the detail of the physical spaces of the museum and national park to reflect on the broader implications of this research. It highlights that while new readings of environment, nation and landscape are certainly evident in the textual documents of the New Zealand museum and national park, these remained political and theoretical, divorced from the display practices in museums and the interpretation and management strategies of national parks. While an understanding of this outcome is unquestionably complex, this study argues that the persistence of an 'ahistorical' framing of the New Zealand landscape, which is based not on environmental or cultural authenticity but instead on maintaining its capacity for re-invention for economic gain is significant to understanding the comparatively muted evidence of change in the New Zealand museum and park.

In contrast the ambitions of the Australian museum and national park were not only comprehensively re-written, but they also influenced design practice. However this study

identifies two theoretical revisions that posed major difficulties for translation into design practice. Within the National Museum of Australia, the intent to introduce national environmental narratives created difficulties in reconciling disparate temporal frames of Aboriginal, settler and natural history combined with the impossibility of representing a nation encompassing an entire continent. Conversely the ambition to reshape the globally iconic landscape of Uluru-Kata Tjuta into an Anangu cultural landscape proved unachievable. These challenges demonstrate that while considerable change is apparent in the Australian museum and national park it is by no means reconciled.

Chapter One

The National Museum: two genealogies

Over the course of the twentieth century New Zealand's Colonial Museum and the National Museum of Victoria, Australia, evolved from focused collections of natural history into comprehensive museums featuring art, history and science. In this chapter I use institutional accounts and histories, photographs, plans and exhibition descriptions to document and compare the major changes in the 'display of nature' that accompanied this evolution. I develop a genealogical analysis that demonstrates how environmental specifics, emerging settler nationalism and the internationally-influential trends of science and education combined to influence display practice and content.

I begin by examining two distinct phases in the process of this evolution. The first section traces the museum's evolution from nineteenth-century displays of visual taxonomic classifications to displays of evolutionary series, a transition I explore further through comparison with the parallel display practices of the natural world presented at the International Exhibitions held in Melbourne in 1881 and Christchurch in 1906. The second section examines the 'international' museum trends of education and ecology introduced in the early twentieth century, and explores this further using comparisons with contemporaneous displays produced in the American Museum of Natural History, recognised as an internationally significant museum precedent.

Colonial Peripheries

In the early 1800s, the new scientific discipline of natural history played a significant role in helping European colonisers make sense of the unfamiliar flora and fauna of the distant colonies. A network of scientific infrastructure quickly developed throughout the Australasian colonies, emerging as a mix of philosophical societies and institutes, museums of natural history, geological surveys and small private collections. This proliferation was fuelled by scientific rivalry as each colony set out to entice scientists from Britain to establish scientific institutions.¹ Early collections featured mineral resources and fossils that aimed to showcase the economic potential of the colonies and to attract government funding, given that 'financial support for colonial science was usually contingent upon

¹ Carolyn Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications in association with Museum Victoria, 2001). p. 16.

practical success in its application.² The Geological Survey of Great Britain, which commenced the systematic mapping of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland in 1835, was an influential model for colonial science.³ The Survey, which also featured a public museum, provided the training ground for many scientists bound for Australia and New Zealand including Frederick McCoy who became the foundational director of the National Museum of Victoria, and Alfred Selwyn who established the Geological Survey of Victoria.⁴

Drawing inspiration from the British model, Wellington's Colonial Museum was established in 1865 in conjunction with the Geological Survey of New Zealand and a colonial laboratory. The museum enjoyed early financial support, aided by a government keen to consolidate Wellington's position as New Zealand's capital through the development of major public institutions. The Colonial Museum was housed in a half-completed timber building behind the grounds of Parliament Building.⁵ The foundational director, Dr James Hector, shared McCoy's geological interest, and came to the museum after serving as the Director of the Otago Geological Survey. Trained as a medical doctor in Edinburgh, Hector was part of a wave of well-educated Scottish migration to New Zealand influential in establishing the scientific foundations of the colony.⁶ Many considered Hector the only competent scientist and doctor employed by the government, and he remained in charge of the Colonial Museum until his retirement in 1903.⁷

The origin of the National Museum of Victoria lies in the major economic, scientific and social developments in Melbourne during the 1850s, inspired by Victoria's colonial independence from NSW and funded by new wealth provided by the gold rush. Melbourne emerged as the commercial centre of Australasia, prompting government to provide funds for the establishment of public institutions reflective of the city's new prominence. The

² Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p. 30.

³ Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Australian Museums of Natural History: Public Priorities and Scientific Initiatives in the 19th Century," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 5, no. 4 (1983), p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp.4-5.

⁵ Terence Hodgson, *Colonial Capital: Wellington 1865-1910* (Auckland: Random Century Group, 1990), p.30.

⁶ Hector was appointed geologist and surgeon for expeditions into Western Canada under John Palliser before exploring the goldfields of British Columbia and California and mining in Mexico. Hector was recommended by Sir Roderick Murchison, Director of the Geological Survey of Great Britain for the position of Director of Otago Geological Survey.

⁷ Richard Dell, *The First Hundred Years of the Dominion Museum* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1965), p. 50.

colony was keen to match scientific developments already evident in NSW and Tasmania.⁸ In 1853 lawyer Mark Nicholson requested that the Victorian Legislative Council fund a Museum of Natural History to increase public knowledge 'by collecting together facts and illustrations connected with the natural history of this colony.'⁹ Funds were provided for a Museum of Natural History and Economic Geology, part of the Assay Office in the Crown Lands Building. Further cultural institutions followed including Melbourne University, established in 1853.

The University contributed to Melbourne's increasing number of public intellectuals, most significantly through the appointment of four foundation Professors, one of whom was Frederick McCoy as Professor of Natural History.¹⁰ To McCoy, a museum was essential for the University. Following the withdrawal of funding from the Assay museum, McCoy offered to look after the natural history collection, in a museum that would serve both students and the general public.¹¹ Recognised as the senior natural scientist in the Colony of Victoria, McCoy was appointed official director of the Museum in 1858, a position he held for forty-two years concurrently with his professorship at Melbourne University.¹²

Taxonomic classification guided the display of nature in McCoy's and Hector's museums. It was not until these long-serving foundational directors left the museum in the late-nineteenth century that either institution embraced the new scientific paradigm of evolution. The transition from taxonomic classification to the evolutionary series forms the first stage of this genealogical analysis. This period in the history of the Australasian museum has attracted extensive academic interest which this study draws on. Through the analysis of published institutional accounts and histories,¹³ photographs, plans, exhibition descriptions and catalogues, together with the observations of Bennett, Finney, Griffiths,

⁸ By 1821 Sydney had established a Philosophical Society, followed six years later by a museum. An active natural history society was evident in Tasmania during the 1840s including the publication of Australia's first scientific journal, as well as a commitment to a colonial museum.

⁹ Mark Nicholson cited David Goodman, "Fear of Circuses: Founding the National Museum of Victoria," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 260.

¹⁰ McCoy had a passion for palaeontology and geology, although having no formal qualifications. Prior to relocating to Melbourne he worked with the Geological Survey of Great Britain, was employed at the Geological Museum of the University of Cambridge and was appointed Professor of Mineralogy and Geology at Queens' College Belfast.

¹¹ For discussion on the events leading to the re-location of Victoria's natural history collection from the Assay Office to the University of Melbourne in 1856 see Ian Wilkinson, "The Battle for the Museum: Frederick McCoy and the Establishment of the National Museum of Victoria at the University of Melbourne," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 11, no. 1 (1996).

¹² *Ibid.* p. 9.

¹³ Dell, *The First Hundred Years of the Dominion Museum*. R.T.M Pescott, *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria* (Melbourne: National Museum of Victoria, 1954). Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*.

Kohlstedt and Sheets-Pyenson,¹⁴ I establish the major characteristics of and motivations for display practices of nature in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century in both the Colonial Museum and the National Museum of Victoria. This examination is further developed through the consideration of parallel display practices of the natural world, evident at the International Exhibitions.

Universal scientific principles of visual taxonomy and evolutionary science were adopted contemporaneously within the Colonial Museum (renamed the Dominion Museum in 1907) and the National Museum of Victoria. During this transitional period, emphasis shifted from presenting a static visual taxonomy of the entire collection to evoking a sense of the temporal by ordering selected objects into sequences of descent, with specimens curated according to their ability to best demonstrate evolution. Text, no longer used for the descriptive labelling of the taxonomic collection, was used instead to narrate the space *between* objects, to guide the visitor to see evidence of change.

A notable difference between the museums is the contrasting perspectives of indigenous people. Displays of Aboriginal people remained dislocated from European colonisers, separated by an 'unbridgeable' temporal gap, while in the Dominion Museum Maori culture was presented as a prelude to New Zealand history as well as being featured in 'scientific' ethnographical displays. The rapid extinction of flora and fauna emerges as a major preoccupation in the New Zealand museum. Displays developed for the International exhibitions, although shaped by an alternative display philosophy that merged spectacle with education, also mirrored these framings of the indigenous.

A Universal Nature

From their inception the National Museum of Victoria and the Colonial Museum operated as public museums and institutions of science. The founding of the museums coincided with the emergence of other colonial institutions of nature such as the circus, the zoo and the menagerie. An emphasis on knowledge and natural history, however, clearly distinguished the museum from these more entertaining displays of the natural world.

¹⁴ Colin Finney, *Paradise Revealed: Natural History in Nineteenth Century Australia* (Melbourne: Museum of Victoria, 1993), Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Kohlstedt, "Australian Museums of Natural History: Public Priorities and Scientific Initiatives in the 19th Century.", Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Historical Records in Australian Museums of Natural Science," *Historical Bibliography Bulletin* 10, no. September (1984), Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*. Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London: Routledge, 1999), Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004).

Through 'professional' science the natural history museum intended to teach rather than excite the public. The museum's content and display techniques were closely tied to the scientific training and interests of the foundational museum directors. While McCoy and Hector shared an emphasis on the taxonomic traditions of the Enlightenment museum based on the visual characteristics of natural history, the scope of the museum collections differed. The National Museum emerged as an internationally-focused 'encyclopaedic' museum with minimal collections of Aboriginal culture, whereas the Colonial Museum, closely aligned with the Geological Survey of New Zealand, featured New Zealand geology, fossils and mineral resources, as well as Maori 'curios'.

Despite its position within Melbourne University, the National Museum was considered a reference collection for university and scientific investigations, as well as the public, opening all day from Monday to Saturday.¹⁵ Unlike the zoo, the museum did not feature exotic animal specimens but instead aimed to provide a well-classified representation of the natural world.¹⁶ McCoy considered his position similar to that of Professor Forbes, Palaeontologist to the Geological Survey of Great Britain, encompassing both research and education.¹⁷ Named the 'Public Museum of Natural History, Geology, Mining and Agriculture,' McCoy's museum was initially housed in four rooms of the university.¹⁸ One room, depicted in the etching shown in Figure 1, was dedicated to specimens from the Geological Survey of Victoria and a collection of mainly local fauna. Another room housed the beginnings of a mining school, evidence of the commitment to a practical science supportive of colonial economic growth.¹⁹ McCoy demonstrated little interest in Aboriginal culture, a position shared by many early colonial museums, despite the importation of major collections of Aboriginal artefacts to international museums during the late nineteenth century.²⁰

¹⁵ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.53.

¹⁶ Goodman, "Fear of Circuses: Founding the National Museum of Victoria." p.266.

¹⁷ Kohlstedt, "Australian Museums of Natural History: Public Priorities and Scientific Initiatives in the 19th Century." pp. 5-6.

¹⁸ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.46.

¹⁹ This collection featured instructive models for mining techniques which were useful for the untrained workers visiting the Museum en route to the gold fields as well as the general public.

²⁰ Margaret Anderson and Andrew Reeves, "Contested Identities: Museums and the Nation in Australia," in *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity*, ed. Flora S. Kaplan (London ; New York: Leicester University Press, 1996). p 86.



Figure 1 Interior of the National Museum, University of Melbourne. Photographic reproduction of engraving by Frederick Grosse produced in 1865. [UMA/I/1279]

Geological Foundations

An emphasis on mining and geology was even stronger at Wellington's Colonial Museum, which was integrated with the Geological Survey of New Zealand. By 1866 the museum housed over 9,000 geological specimens, close to 3,000 specimens of recent shells, together with 1,811 specimens of natural history including 'miscellaneous collections of woods, fibres, wool, Native implements, weapons, dresses, &c.'²¹ The Colonial Museum not only housed New Zealand specimens but also supported scientific investigations of New Zealand. Hector continued to pursue fieldwork, often away from the museum documenting, for example, the rapid loss of New Zealand forest cover and fish habitats.²² The museum produced extensive publications and catalogues that detailed New Zealand flora and fauna, including *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, a journal of geology, botany and zoology.²³ While considered an important foundation for New Zealand natural history, the journal also featured the history and culture of Maori, demonstrating the early attention given to Maori within the museum.

Figure 2 provides evidence of the early museum design. The museum featured a large hall, lit by a central skylight and surrounded on three sides by a first floor gallery, a

²¹ J. Hector, 'Memorandum concerning the Colonial Museum', published in the Appendices to the Journal of the New Zealand House of Representatives, D. No. 9., 1866, p. 4 cited James Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, The University of Melbourne, 2002). p. 205.

²² David Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004). p.70.

²³ Dell, *The First Hundred Years of the Dominion Museum*. p.46.

configuration shared by other colonial museums of this period including the Canterbury and Auckland Museums. These designs were influenced by nineteenth-century British competitions devised to develop an appropriate architectural expression for museums that were no longer private collections.²⁴ The museum's revised public role required the spatial reconfiguration of the institution not only to allow the public to see the exhibition, but to control the public conduct within the museum.²⁵ Scientists such as McCoy and Hector would have been familiar with the new Museum of Practical Geology in London that opened in 1851 and housed specimens from the British Geological Survey.

Similar to the plan for the Colonial Museum, the Museum of Practical Geology featured a large rectangular hall with central skylight, ringed by an upper balcony that maximised the number of objects that could be displayed near the central light source, 'a major feature of the nineteenth century museum' comments historian Carla Yanni.²⁶ The Colonial Museum however lacked the grandeur of the Museum of Practical Geology, which was designed in the image of a gentlemen's club, incorporating a theatre, library and additional rooms.²⁷ The museum also featured custom-built exhibits spread over three floors that formed part of an educational programme, leading the visitor through the transition of geology from natural resources to commercial products.²⁸

A visit to the Colonial Museum in 1870 was a more modest affair. Visitors first entered a small hall dominated by table cases housing collections of minerals, British fossils and shells. Standing cases displaying New Zealand birds, reptiles and fishes were relegated to the outer walls, as were smaller collections of gold and coins. The central hall was dedicated to New Zealand rocks, fossils and shells, the dominant content of the museum, as well as smaller collections of Australian specimens, all housed in table cases. Located at either end of the hall, were two larger animal displays of a moa and elephant, while a small collection of Maori 'curios' was displayed adjacent to moa bones.

²⁴ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995). p.95.

²⁵ Ibid. p.100.

²⁶ Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). p.55.

²⁷ Ibid. pp.52-59.

²⁸ Ibid. p.58.

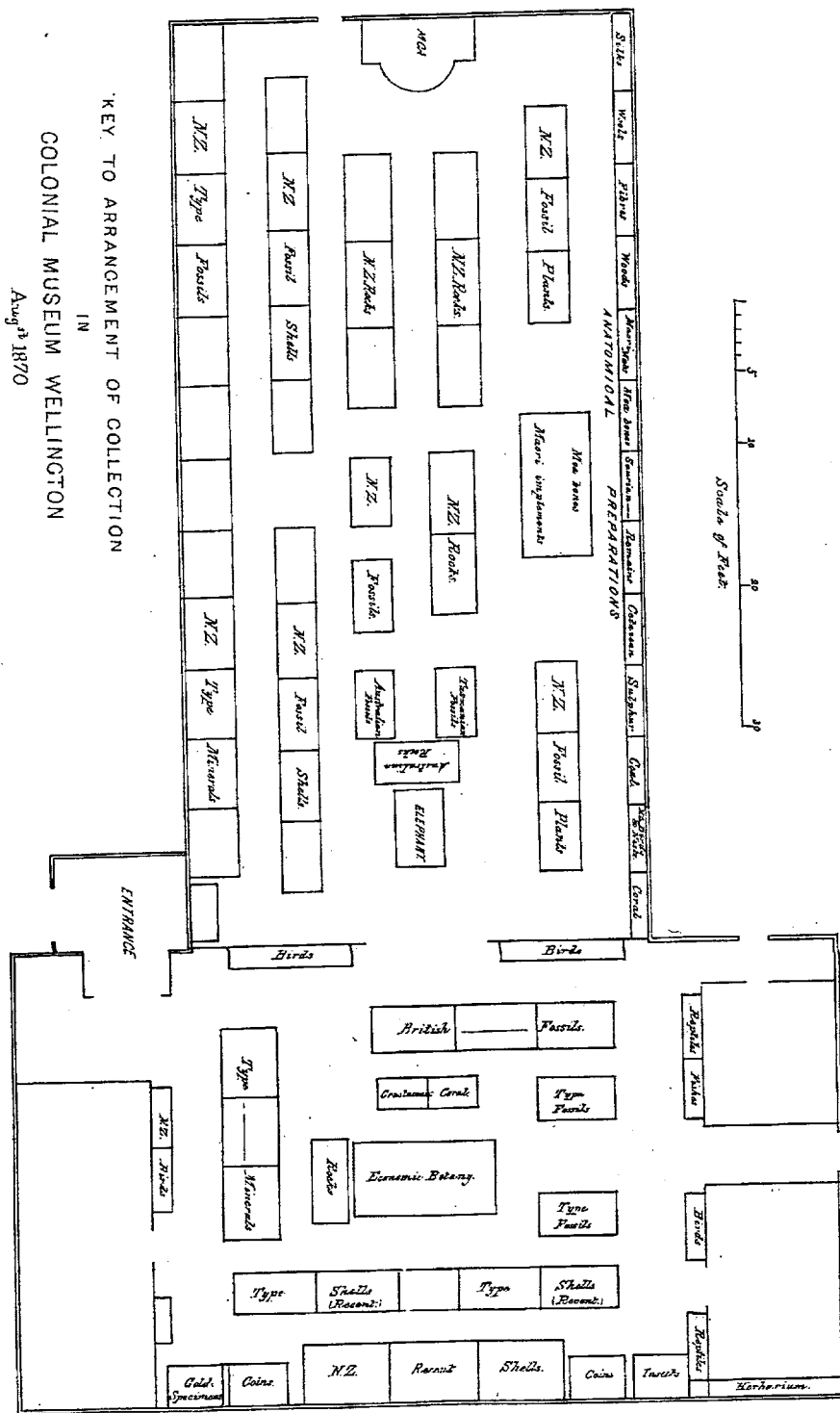


Figure 2 Arrangement of Collection in Colonial Museum, Wellington, August 1870. Catalogue 1870. n.p.

Display techniques were based on taxonomic classifications that ordered specimens according to the logic of the visible surface.²⁹ A visual classification of natural history represented a major scientific development, revising displays of the fifteenth and sixteenth

²⁹ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. p. 161.

century where natural objects formed part of private collections or ‘cabinets of curiosities’ that featured ‘rare and outlandish’ specimens such as monstrous animals, exotic plants and minerals considered to be imbued with ‘extraordinary powers.’³⁰ Accompanying this acceptance of visual taxonomies is what Foucault identifies as a change from spectacle to history-making, providing ‘a new way of connecting things both to the eye and the discourse.’³¹

Visual Taxonomies

Taxonomic classifications altered the display of the natural world in three significant ways. First, classifications changed the perception of the natural world, moving from an ‘incremental Renaissance way of knowing’ based on oral histories and stories to the use of scientific methods of taxonomy to establish ‘proximities among material things.’³² Secondly, taxonomies shifted the emphasis of displays of nature from the exceptional and the exotic to the more commonplace. Finally, revision of the relationship between the viewer and artefact now positioned the viewer as detached observer, no longer required to participate in supplying a temporary order to the chaos of the cabinet displayed with no discernable classificatory system.³³ Instead, taxonomic collections were framed as books or encyclopaedias incorporating additional guidance for understanding the artefact through nomenclatures of labels, generally in Latin, and accompanying indexes.

Bennett observes that the adoption of classifications denied the public an ‘active role in the museum,’ restricting their participation to ‘looking and learning, absorbing the lessons that have been laid out before it.’³⁴ Classifications aimed to make the collections intelligible to the public, in contrast to what Bennett describes as ‘the secretive and cultic knowledge offered by the cabinet of curiosity.’³⁵ Taxonomies elevated the museum curator to the holder of authoritarian knowledge, required to establish the order of the collection for the untrained eye of the public. Hector lamented in the preface to his 1870 museum catalogue that the displays had been organised within a ‘provisional nomenclature,’ stating that the rapid accumulation of collection had ‘prevented the adoption, from the commencement, of

³⁰ Giuseppe Olmi, "Science-Honour-Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum.*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishers, 2004). p.133.

³¹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock, 1970). p.143.

³² Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "The Space of the Museum," *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media & Culture* 3, no. 1 (1990). p.1.

³³ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. p. 171.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 14.

³⁵ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. p.41.

a definite system of arrangement.³⁶ The museum catalogue therefore provided additional taxonomic information for the public to understand an ordering that may not have been discernable in the already-overcrowded museum.

The taxonomic exhibits of the Colonial and National Museum aimed to display as many of the museum's specimens as possible, leading to increasing demand for space. The construction in 1864 of a stand-alone building (although only ever half completed) on the grounds of Melbourne University provided McCoy the opportunity to expand his four-room museum. Designed by Melbourne architects Reed and Barnes, the museum was influenced by Deane and Woodward's 1854 Gothic revival inspired winning competition entry for Oxford's University Museum. The Oxford Museum featured a large central light-filled cloister to house the major collections, surrounded on three sides by workrooms, lecture space and laboratories.³⁷ Reed and Barnes' design contained a galleried first floor configured in two halves around a quadrangular courtyard and, as can be seen in Figure 3, provided an early example of Gothic Revival architecture.³⁸

Much to McCoy's disapproval, the removal in 1871 of the agricultural and mining exhibits to the newly-opened Industrial and Technological Museum restricted the new museum's content to natural history.³⁹ The ground floor of the museum contained geology, palaeontology, mineralogy, skeletons and shells, while the upper galleries were dedicated to zoology. Unlike Hector's Colonial Museum, McCoy's collection was international in focus, an emphasis that also placed the museum at odds with other Australian colonial museums that for reasons of economy or director's interests tended to focus on Australian collections.⁴⁰ Instead, McCoy aimed for a comprehensive museum arguing that it was necessary to provide an international comparison for investigating local material.⁴¹ McCoy established networks with collectors and natural history dealers, purchasing major international collections such as John Curtis' British Insect Collection as well as large specimens of giraffes, elephants and whales.⁴²

³⁶ Colonial Museum, "Catalogue of the Colonial Museum," (Wellington: Colonial Museum, 1870).p.v.

³⁷ Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display*. p.78.

³⁸ Philip Goad and George Tibbits, *Architecture on Campus: A Guide to the University of Melbourne and Its Colleges* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003). p.5.

³⁹ For discussion on the establishment of the Industrial and Technological Museum see Kathleen M Fennessy, "'Industrial Instruction' for the 'Industrious Classes': Founding the Industrial and Technological Museum, Melbourne," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 16 (2005). pp.45-64.

⁴⁰ Kohlstedt, "Australian Museums of Natural History: Public Priorities and Scientific Initiatives in the 19th Century." p.8.

⁴¹ Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*. p. 73.

⁴² Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.67.



Figure 3 The National Museum D. McDonald. ca. 1867-1891. [SLV/H11655/nc001512]

Evolutionary Resistance

Despite the differing geographical scope of their collections, McCoy and Hector shared a resistance to more progressive evolutionary thinking promoted by the emerging historical sciences of geology, anthropology, biology and archaeology.⁴³ McCoy was an outspoken critic of evolution, an aversion well demonstrated by his zoological gallery shown in Figure 4. Rather than adopting an evolutionary sequence as supported by Darwin's theory of common descent, McCoy arranged his collection in accordance with six 'centres of creation,' proposed by the theory of polygeny.⁴⁴ Visitors encountered a geographically ordered display that emphasised how similar (but actually taxonomically distinct) species performed similar functions in corresponding climates and locations throughout the world.⁴⁵

A geographic ordering denied the diversity and divergence of species proposed by evolution, instead nullifying time by suggesting that species found in differing geographies were not a consequence of 'developmental sequence,' but instead representative of a 'divinely intended order of creation.'⁴⁶ McCoy's resistance to evolution is further illustrated by his importation to Australia in 1865 of three mounted gorilla specimens, the source of

⁴³ For a discussion on the slow acceptance of evolution arrangements within Australian museums see Chapter Six in Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*.

⁴⁴ Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*. p. 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.23.

⁴⁶ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. pp. 147-148.

much fascination given the gorilla had only been recognised in European science since 1847.⁴⁷ McCoy carefully displayed the gorillas to emphasise their ‘remoteness’ from humans, a position that visually challenged writers who in his opinion ‘exaggerated’ their resemblance to support their argument of evolution.⁴⁸ The display is shown in Figure 4.



Figure 4 Interior of the National Museum ca.1873. (Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.66.)

Although resistant to more progressive scientific thinking, McCoy distinguished himself from Hector in his enthusiasm for and care in the display of specimens. Working with skilled taxidermist John Leadbeater, McCoy promoted the exhibition of birds and animals in more animated and dynamic postures. While more naturalistic displays and advanced taxidermy practices were evident in private museums and in the International and Colonial exhibitions, their impact on the nineteenth-century natural history museum was limited. Many scientists considered these displays inappropriate for scientific presentation.

Prominent American ornithologist Elliot Coues commented in 1872,

‘Spread eagle’ styles of mounting, artificial rocks and flowers, etc, are entirely out of place as a collection of any scientific pretensions... Birds look best, on the whole, in uniform rows, assorted according to size, as far as a classification allows.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.67.

⁴⁸ Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*. pp.23-24.

⁴⁹ Elliot Coues, *Key to North American Birds*, (Boston, 1884) p. 44 cited Karen Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History* (ACTA: Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1993). p. 42.

McCoy developed innovative display cases such as a lyre bird exhibit complete with nest eggs, adult males, females and young.⁵⁰ A larger exhibit of Indian animals followed in 1866, displayed in their characteristic habitats of mountains, water and forest, which the Melbourne newspaper *Argus* reported as ‘giving a very beautiful and interesting effect.’⁵¹ In contrast, the overcrowded space of the Colonial Museum provided limited scope for display. The shared focus on the geological survey, colonial laboratory and the museum resulted in significant space constraints. In 1894 visiting British geologist F.A. Bather described the Museum as probably ‘the worst managed institution of the kind in the whole of the southern hemisphere.’⁵² He wrote,

At some distant period there seems to have been an attempt to keep the geological specimens in one room, the zoological in another, and the ethnological in a third; but now specimens are simply placed where room can be best made for them... Even in the cases the things are badly arranged, and the labels, if found at all, are often attached to the wrong specimens.⁵³

Bather’s observation is supported by the image of the Colonial Museum shown in Figure 5. While Yanni reminds us that these museums may appear to be ‘a jumble to the modern viewer,’ given the predilection of nineteenth century visual arts for the highly detailed and ornate visual arts, the Colonial Museum presented a chaotic mix of photos, paintings and art with fossils, minerals, Maori ‘curios’ and skeletons.⁵⁴ Although extended in 1875 with a south wing, gallery and offices, the timber Colonial Museum provided limited space, as well as having no heating or ventilation and being susceptible to fire and theft.⁵⁵ Table cases were interspersed with larger specimens, creating little distinction between the major classifications of geology, zoology and ethnology, a situation exacerbated by the requirement of the nineteenth-century museum to exhibit the entire collection.⁵⁶

Overcrowding was also evident in the National Museum, reflecting the spatial and financial constraints in housing an expanding museum collection as well as the strong-willed long-serving foundation directors who resisted institutional engagement with current scientific thought.⁵⁷ The influence of directors such as Hector and McCoy, concludes historian

⁵⁰ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p. 71.

⁵¹ *Argus* March 1866 cited in Pescott, *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*. p. 63.

⁵² Proceedings of the Museums Association, Dublin meeting 1894 cited Dell, *The First Hundred Years of the Dominion Museum*. p. 88.

⁵³ Proceedings of the Museums Association, Dublin meeting 1894 Ibid. p. 88.

⁵⁴ Yanni, *Nature’s Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display*. p.61.

⁵⁵ Richard Dell, *Dominion Museum 1865-1965* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1965). pp.7-8.

⁵⁶ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p. 65.

⁵⁷ This is best demonstrated by McCoy’s aversion to evolution that led to the National Museum’s library not even holding a copy of Darwin’s *Origins* until the late 1880s.

Sheets-Pyenson, was detrimental, given the museum's growth was 'tied to the vigour of their leadership, and as physical and mental infirmity set in... the museum likewise began to decline.'⁵⁸



Figure 5 Colonial Museum interior, Museum Street, Thorndon, Wellington. ca. 1910. [ATL PAColl-3114-2]

An Experiential Nature

In contrast, the International exhibitions were increasingly popular events, driven not by science but colonial rivalries. An alternative display philosophy of the natural world accompanied these impressive exhibitions that merged spectacle with education. The Great Exhibition, held at London's Crystal Palace in 1851, is acknowledged as the 'birth of the international exhibition movement.'⁵⁹ Origins of the Great Exhibition are traced to early nineteenth-century exhibitions that aimed to educate the largely-illiterate English working class in technical arts, primarily through 'learning by looking.'⁶⁰ Unlike early exhibitions that arranged displays according to 'stages of production' such as raw products, manufactured goods, mechanical devices, and fine and applied art, the Great Exhibition

⁵⁸ Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*. p.35.

⁵⁹ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).p.1.

⁶⁰ Graeme Davison, "Festivals of Nationhood: The International Exhibitions," in *Australian Cultural History*, ed. S.L. Goldberg & F.B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). pp. 159-160.

introduced a global exposition of material culture 'based on nations and the supra-national constructs of empires and races.'⁶¹ Exhibits were classified according to regions or nations, leading to the division of the floor space into maps of the world, accompanied by more contextual displays of nature.⁶² In a significant difference from the taxonomically-ordered natural history museum, the adoption of narrative and storytelling introduced a spectatorial experience of nature to the visitor.

The International exhibits were important forums for journalists, visitors and politicians, as they were considered venues for trade and commerce and a place to display 'ideas, images and practices of both imperialism and nationalism.'⁶³ Competition for immigrants and capital investment inspired many exhibits. Exhibits therefore were not strictly focused on scientific knowledge but instead presented a construction of colonial and national identity conceived as an 'interplay of participation, propaganda, advertising and spectacle.'⁶⁴ Australian colonial exhibits, for example, were framed to counter European, British and American 'preconceptions about the colonies' pre-industrial economy, frontier violence, and large Irish Catholic population.⁶⁵ These exhibits presented an independent colonial identity, where despite the relative youth of European settlement an image of settler progress was cultivated. The Victorian Commissioners for the 1862 London International Exhibition aimed to present 'a physical atlas' of the colony, advising exhibitors and contributors 'to bring prominently before those who will congregate in London, the results of the intellectual and scientific, as well as the animal and manufacturing industry of the people of Victoria.'⁶⁶

A Display of Spectacle

Spatial organisation of exhibitions was released from the confines of imperial science, allowing taxidermists and artists the opportunity to deviate from the rigidity of taxonomic classification of the museum.⁶⁷ Two major differences distinguish the display of nature in the International and Colonial exhibitions from the natural history museum. First, these exhibitions encouraged 'non-scientific taxidermic sculpture,' introducing techniques of

⁶¹ Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex." p. 353.

⁶² Davison, "Festivals of Nationhood: The International Exhibitions." p. 161.

⁶³ Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. p.2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 27.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 136.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 137.

⁶⁷ Annie E. Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004). p.233.

narrative and storytelling.⁶⁸ Narrative taxidermic tableaux promoted more animated and artistic representations that also appealed to Victorian taste.⁶⁹ Secondly, more animated approaches to display created a new spectatorial experience. In contrast to the natural history museum where the visitor's experience was limited to the contemplation of the object and was restricted to 'looking and learning,' animated displays constructed a theatrical narrative around the specimen, inviting interpretation from the viewer and often evoking an emotive response.⁷⁰

Display innovation was encouraged primarily by private natural history supply houses such as Ward's Natural Science Establishment.⁷¹ Expositions provided space for taxidermists to experiment, unlike the increasingly cluttered nineteenth-century museum. The formation of the Society of American Taxidermists in 1880 elevated taxidermy to an art form.⁷² Ward and his team created entire museum displays and served over 100 museums worldwide, including the National Museum of Victoria.⁷³ The groundbreaking display 'Fight in the Treetops,' which featured two male orang-utans, incorporated behavioural and environmental information. The exhibit was purchased in 1882 by the National Museum of Natural History. Many of Ward's employees later worked in major museums of natural history, and were considered influential in the introduction of the habitat diorama into the early-twentieth century museum.⁷⁴

Contextual painted backgrounds were a major feature of displays, contributing a sense of a distant landscape and spatial depth. This shares similarities with the popular panorama displays of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, where specially-constructed circular buildings provided a central platform for spectators to view a continuous painting of a landscape or urban scene, offering the viewer a bird's eye view of miniature landscapes.⁷⁵ Insertion of a background image suggested an engagement with the 'real world,' in contrast

⁶⁸ Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. p. 34.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 34.

⁷⁰ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). p.3.

⁷¹ Ward's Natural Science establishment was founded in 1862 by Henry A. Ward and was considered a leading international supplier of scientific specimens for museums and universities. Ward studied at Ecoles des Mines and Jardin des Plantes, as well as studying taxidermy at Maison Verreaux in Paris, before appointed Professor of Natural Sciences at the University of Rochester in 1860.

⁷² Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. p.117.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p.111.

⁷⁴ Graduates from the Ward Establishment included William T. Hornaday who became chief taxidermist at the National Museum of Natural History and Frederic A. Lucas who became curator at the American Museum of Natural History.

⁷⁵ Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. pp.12-13.

to taxonomic classifications that offered only the contemplation of a selected object.⁷⁶ ‘The Kansas Exhibit’ at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago is a significant precedent for introducing a more contextual approach to natural history. Prepared by Lewis Dyche from the Museum of Natural History at the University of Kansas, the exhibit featured a twenty-four metre long chamber that housed a re-created naturalistic foreground of differing landscapes of swamps, mountains, and prairies. A large panoramic landscape painting formed the backdrop for more than 100 mammals mounted in animated poses. The display presented a ‘hyper-representation’ of the real world through the juxtaposition of miniature landscape types within a single exhibit.⁷⁷ Guided tours conducted by Dyche heightened the experience by allowing visitors to wander within the exhibit and experience a closer view of the animals.⁷⁸

An Indigenous Landscape

During the late nineteenth century Australian and New Zealand displays for overseas exhibits often favoured pictorial representations of events rather than material artefact, as pictorial representations were considered ‘realistic’ and easily-transportable representations.⁷⁹ Exhibitions within the colonies, however, featured more spatial displays, often recreating miniature landscapes, sometimes of specific places, other times presenting a more ‘generic’ landscape. The 1880 Melbourne International exhibition included a recreated interior of the Jenolan Caves as part of the NSW court, and a more generalised bush scene in the South Australian court, considered the court’s most ‘attractive feature.’⁸⁰ Unlike the unpeopled nature promoted by the Kansas exhibit, the South Australian bush scene presented an indigenous landscape complete with Aboriginal occupants featuring, according to the official exhibition catalogue, a pioneer hut, a reproduced waterfall surrounded by ‘snakes, tortoises, lizard, wallaby, and other native animals,’ and ‘admirable models of a stalwart aboriginal with his lubra (wife) and child.’⁸¹ Visitors were only encouraged to look into the bush scene, with their movements restricted by a physical barrier, as illustrated in the etching shown in Figure 6.

⁷⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*. pp.3-4.

⁷⁷ Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. pp. 124-125.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 124.

⁷⁹ Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. p. 140.

⁸⁰ The Commissioners of the Melbourne Exhibition, *Official Record of Melbourne International Exhibition 1880-81* (Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1882).p.cxlvi.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.cxlvi.



Figure 6 The Bush Scene in the South Australian Court, Melbourne International Exhibit 1880-81. [SLV- IAN06/11/80/supp/221]

Inclusion of indigenous people within International and Colonial exhibitions demonstrates the influence of the emerging discipline of anthropology.⁸² An 'ethnographic' Maori village was featured at the 1906 Christchurch Exhibition. Considered 'the greatest International Exhibition held in New Zealand,' the Exhibition was proposed to reinforce the physical and cultural distinctiveness of New Zealand.⁸³ The Maori village comprised a full-scale recreated Maori pa⁸⁴ that, according to the exhibition catalogue, would 'show the conditions under which the Stone Age man lived in New Zealand, and reproduces his attempts at beautifying his home, his means of defence against enemies, and the manner in which he applied his arts and crafts.'⁸⁵ The Maori village formed an integral part of a nationalistic representation, simultaneously framing Maori as exotic while providing the young settlement of New Zealand with 'a sense of history.'⁸⁶ The display further demonstrates the elevated cultural positioning afforded to Maori compared with the more primitive representations of Aboriginal people portrayed within the South Australian bush scene.

⁸² For further discussion on the display of indigenous people see Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

⁸³ The Commissioners, *Official Catalogue of New Zealand International Exhibition* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press, 1907).p.157.

⁸⁴ A pa is a Maori term for fortified village, and was also a former name for a marae complex.

⁸⁵ The Commissioners, *Official Catalogue of New Zealand International Exhibition*. p.150.

⁸⁶ Jock Phillips, "Exhibiting Ourselves: The Exhibition and National Identity," in *Farewell Colonialism: The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07.*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1998). pp.23-24.

Displays of landscape also featured in the Christchurch exhibition. Two representations were central: a land of great agricultural potential (as distinct from an earlier emphasis on mineral resources), and a landscape of tourist opportunity offering spectacular mountainous Alps, thermal wonders and game hunting opportunities. The Exhibition Fernery shown in Figure 7 was a major attraction, providing visitors with a sense of ‘the charming mountain valleys which are found in New Zealand forests.’⁸⁷ The Fernery offered an immersive experience, allowing visitors to walk through a garden containing over eighty ferns, lycopods and other species, a central fountain and an imitation grotto.⁸⁸ Similar to a botanic garden, the major ferns and plant specimens were named and labelled.⁸⁹



Figure 7 Inside the Fernery at the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch. 1906-1907. [ATL 1/1-005290-G]

The absence of any New Zealand fauna within the display was indicative of an emerging sense of the extensive loss of species following settlement. Surprisingly for an exhibition aimed at celebrating the attributes of New Zealand, the exhibition catalogue highlighted this loss. The catalogue stated:

It is not possible to adequately represent the Colony’s animal life by living forms at the Exhibition, as many species are now extinct...The Colony’s flora, however, although large portions of it have been swept away with the besom of destruction, is not departing.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ The Commissioners, *Official Catalogue of New Zealand International Exhibition*. p. 157.

⁸⁸ An emphasis on ferns was reflective of the Victorian era’s enthusiasm for ferns known as ‘pteridomania.’

⁸⁹ The Commissioners, *Official Catalogue of New Zealand International Exhibition*. p. 158.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p.157.

These contextual and immersive displays of the natural world evident at the International Exhibitions departed not only from the object-focused taxonomies of the natural history museum, but they also provide evidence of colonial attitudes to the indigenous environment that were inclusive of indigenous people. By the early twentieth century, these distinctions were also evident in the Dominion (formerly Colonial) Museum and the National Museum of Victoria, and were accentuated by the acceptance of evolution.

An Archaeological Gaze

Scientific specializations of geology, anthropology, biology and archaeology all contributed to a new temporal ordering within the museum collection, introducing what Bennett describes as ‘an archaeological gaze.’⁹¹ Attention turned from the presentation of a visual taxonomy of the entire collection to, instead, the temporal ordering of selected objects into ‘continuous sequences of lineal descent connecting the past to the present in an unbroken historical order.’⁹² Rather than displaying all of the collection, specimens were curated according to their ability to best demonstrate evolution. No longer used for the descriptive labelling of the taxonomic collection, text now provided narration of the space *between* objects to guide the visitor to see evidence of change.⁹³ By the early twentieth century these changes were evident in the display of natural history and the ethnological collections of Aboriginal and Maori culture at the National and Dominion Museums.

These changes were inspired by the efforts of two men. The appointment of Walter Baldwin Spencer, a pioneer in evolutionary biology and anthropology, as director of the National Museum and Augustus Hamilton, one of the first full-time ethnologists in New Zealand, as director of the Dominion Museum, provided opportunities to apply the new scientific principles of evolution within the museum. Under Baldwin Spencer’s guidance, the National Museum underwent a major philosophical and physical reorganisation, commencing with the museum’s relocation to a more central city location to become part of a broader public institution including the library and art gallery. Completion of a new building in 1906 provided the opportunity to reorganise the collections according to ‘modern’ display methods based on the separation of scientific and display collections. Edward Gray, Curator of Zoology at the British Museum, first expressed this idea, which was put into practice by Louis Agassiz in the re-organisation of Harvard’s Museum of

⁹¹ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. p.168.

⁹² *Ibid.* pp.163.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Contemporary Zoology.⁹⁴ It was W.H. Flower's remodelling of the British Museum (Natural History) in 1884, however, that was most influential in promoting the demarcation of collections.⁹⁵ Arguing that exhibiting numerous specimens with slight variations was equivalent to framing every page of a library book, Flower proposed that public exhibits provide a more general understanding through the display of the best specimens, leaving the research specimens preserved in minimal space, free from dusts and pests yet easily accessible by researchers.⁹⁶

Evolutionary Nature

Separation of the collection supported scientific advancements of historical sciences that created distinctions between the professional scientist and the amateur naturalist.⁹⁷ Together the separation of displays, combined with the introduction of a temporal evolutionary narrative significantly revises the display of natural history by introducing a curatorial and temporal ordering. Objects are no longer classified according to visual similarities and dissimilarities but instead as Bennett states 'interpreted as summaries of the stages of evolution preceding them.'⁹⁸ These changes are clearly reflected in Spencer's new museum that featured two large exhibition halls of general zoology and Aboriginal ethnology, a smaller display of Australian zoology, as well as rooms for scientists, taxidermists, storage rooms and osteologists. The McCoy Hall of Natural History, shown in Figure 8, housed the general zoological collection, while fossils, minerals and the Australian zoology display were housed on the upper galleries.

Under Spencer, the museum developed greater emphasis on Australian material, reflecting Spencer's interest in the scientific exploration of the Australian environment and Aboriginal culture.⁹⁹ Inspired by the new habitat displays of the Australian Museum, curator of the Zoological collection James Kershaw developed a series of Australian animal displays including lyrebirds (an emblem of Victorian fauna at the turn of the century),

⁹⁴ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. pp.41-42.

⁹⁵ Peter Davis, *Museums and the Natural Environment: The Role of Natural History Museums in Biological Conservation* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996). pp. 69-70.

⁹⁶ Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums During the Late Nineteenth Century*. pp. 6-7.

⁹⁷ Finney, *Paradise Revealed: Natural History in Nineteenth Century Australia*. p.143.

⁹⁸ Tony Bennett, "Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood and the Governance of the Social," *Cultural Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005). p.533.

⁹⁹ Spencer was born in England in 1860 and was educated at the Manchester School of Art. He was later inspired by Darwinist Professor Milnes Marshall to turn his attention to biology. After completing his first degree at Oxford, he worked at the University Museum installing the Pitt Rivers Collection. He arrived in Melbourne in 1887 to take up the foundation chair of biology at the Melbourne University aged 27.

emus, brolgas, black swans and the albatross.¹⁰⁰ By 1916 Spencer claimed that his was ‘the only museum in the world in which a collection of Australian animals can be seen in its entirety.’¹⁰¹ The general zoological specimens were reconfigured from McCoy’s earlier emphasis on geographical groupings into classifications of family, genus and species.¹⁰² Similar to McCoy, Spencer remained closely involved in exhibition design, re-labelling and rearranging specimens, as well as spending hours constructing pyramids of papier-mâché rock to display specimens.¹⁰³



Figure 8 New display in McCoy Hall ca. 1900. (Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.131.)

These pyramids, seen in Figure 8, operated as more than display stands: they spatially configured relationships between species, time and evolutionary development. While these displays aimed to represent evolutionary development, it was not possible to present the *processes* of evolution, only the *outcome*, presented in a carefully narrated ordering. Bennett explains further:

Evolution, in short, could not be seen directly. It could be made evident not on things themselves, but only in a particular narrative ordering of the relations between them through which resemblances were interpreted as descent; and it could not be made evident at all where sequences were interrupted and discontinuous.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.130.
¹⁰¹ Linden Gillbank, "Conserving the Museum's Biological Capital: Four Men and a National Park," in *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*, ed. Carolyn Rasmussen (Melbourne: Scribe Publications in association with Museum Victoria, 2001). p. 147.
¹⁰² Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.129.
¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p.130.
¹⁰⁴ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. pp. 161-163.

The gorilla specimens that had been previously displayed to emphasise their difference from humans in order to refute an evolutionist perspective of science were now displayed in relationship to gibbons, chimpanzees and orang-utans, positioned as part of a series of common descent.¹⁰⁵ Spencer's efforts to re-order the zoological collection attracted mixed responses. A journalist for *The Age* commented in 1916 on the boring and static nature of the displays, which he considered a pale imitation of the Zoological Gardens. He observed that 'an enormous amount of room is taken up with four huge erections of imitation rock, upon which stuffed animals that can easily be seen elsewhere alive, are grouped together in strange fraternity.'¹⁰⁶

Evolution and the Indigenous

Spencer's second hall featured the Aboriginal ethnographic collection, which grew rapidly under his guidance from just 1,200 artefacts in 1899 to over 36,000 by 1928.¹⁰⁷ An emphasis on Aboriginal ethnology reflected a growing interest in anthropology, heightened by the European discovery of the central Australian desert and its Aboriginal inhabitants. Scientists such as Spencer considered remote desert areas as outdoor laboratories for anthropologists, especially the Aboriginal reserves where the 'full-blood' Aboriginal race were expected to live out their last days.¹⁰⁸ Spencer's influence extended well past the museum boundaries, assuming the roles of both photographer and zoologist for the 1894 Horne expedition into central Australia, as well as being a major participant in the colonial administration of the Aboriginal population.¹⁰⁹

Segregation of the Aboriginal collection from other displays of technological and cultural development positioned Aboriginal people without 'any distinctive temporality.'¹¹⁰ Similar to the South Australian bush scene, Spencer included 'life group' dioramas of Aboriginal people displayed within the landscape.¹¹¹ Aboriginal people were framed as part of nature, occupying a position that historian Tom Griffiths describes as 'evolutionary ground

¹⁰⁵ Joan M. Dixon, "Melbourne 1865: Gorillas at the Museum," in *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*, ed. Carolyn Rasmussen (Melbourne: Scribe Publications in association with Museum Victoria, 2001). p.70.

¹⁰⁶ *The Age* 15 July 1916 cited Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p.164.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p.141.

¹⁰⁸ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*.p.155.

¹⁰⁹ Spencer became the first chairman of the Committee of Management for Wilsons Promontory National Park. He was also appointed Special Commissioner and Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory in 1912.

¹¹⁰ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. p. 149.

¹¹¹ For further discussion on life group and the modern museum see Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture*.

zero.¹¹² Early collectors reinforced a perceived lack of cultural development, and were reluctant to search for any evidence of cultural advancement or ‘antiquity.’¹¹³ This primitive positioning established a clear gap between European and Aboriginal culture, creating what Bennett describes as an unprecedented temporal leap between the ‘time of the colonised and that of the coloniser’ with no ‘common time’ connecting ‘pre-occupation Aboriginal anatomical, social or cultural life to that of the coloniser.’¹¹⁴ Spencer’s emphasis on ‘distant’ Aboriginal culture, remote from major population centres, reinforced Aboriginal culture as not only temporally dislocated but geographically divorced from Europeans Australians.

This temporal, geographic and cultural disjuncture between indigenous and European culture was not replicated in Augustus Hamilton’s reconfigured Dominion Museum. Unlike Spencer, Hamilton was required to rework the collections within the constraints of an existing building. The absorption of the Geological Survey into the Mines Department considerably weakened the original geological focus of the museum, which was replaced with a new emphasis on Maori collections and a clearer disciplinary delineation.¹¹⁵ A central ‘Maori Hall’ featured a large waka (carved canoe), carvings, a model pa, garments and glass cabinets containing small objects and weapons, while a north wing was dedicated to New Zealand natural history and a south wing housed the geological collection. The prominence of Maori artefacts reflected Hamilton’s interest in Maori art,¹¹⁶ as well as the escalating European admiration for Maori artefacts at the turn of the century.¹¹⁷

Strengthening of Maori representation within the collection was also indicative of a new social standing for Maori. Following the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, Maori were increasingly romanticised and prized as a source of colonial distinction, as demonstrated by the Maori Pa at the Christchurch exhibition. By the late nineteenth century Maori held influential positions within colonial society such as lawyers and parliamentarians, a far cry from the image of the ‘primitive’ Australian Aborigine. This period coincided with changes in the status of the independent colonies, following the Federation of the Australian colonies in 1901 and the subsequent declaration of New Zealand as a Dominion in 1907, (resulting in the renaming of the Colonial Museum to the Dominion Museum). Although

¹¹² For further discussion see Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*. p.77.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p.77

¹¹⁴ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. pp. 150-151.

¹¹⁵ A. Hamilton, *Colonial Museum Bulletin* No 1, 1905, Wellington, 1906 p. 20 cited Gore p. 206.

¹¹⁶ Prior to his appointment Hamilton published several volumes on Maori Art and also designed the Maori Pa at the 1906 Christchurch Exhibition.

¹¹⁷ For further discussion see Chapter One ‘Colonialism’s Culture 1865-1913’ in Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007).

McCarthy argues that Dominion status cannot be considered 'independent nationalism,' by the early twentieth century a stronger sense of cultural distinctiveness was apparent, with Maori culture an important feature for providing the young New Zealand nation with a sense of cultural depth.¹¹⁸

This celebration of Maori culture contrasted with an emerging anxiety over species extinction. This was of particular concern for James Allen Thomson, scientist, Rhodes Scholar and the first New Zealand-born director of the Dominion Museum who took over from Hamilton in 1914. In his first annual report of 1915, Thomson claimed that the museum did not occupy 'the position it should as a national Museum' declaring that the natural history collection was surpassed by most provincial museums.¹¹⁹ Thomson lamented former director Hector's obsession with geology. He stated:

It was unfortunate that the national Museum was so strongly directed towards geology in its first twenty years; as rocks, minerals and fossils can be collected at any time, while, on the other hand, the land fauna and flora of New Zealand and the primitive life and modes of thought of the Maori peoples were rapidly disappearing through contact with European settlement.¹²⁰

To Thompson it was imperative that the museum develop more representational collections of New Zealand land fauna before they were lost to extinction, also citing the role of the museum in assisting government in matters of conservation.¹²¹ The opening of a new Dominion Museum in 1936 provided an opportunity for the museum to display a more comprehensive collection, shaped by modern display techniques. In a continuation of Hamilton's museum, Maori culture remained showcased.

The Modern Museum

Incorporating the National Art Gallery, the Dominion Museum and the War Memorial Carillon, the new museum was championed as an institution 'run on the most modern lines and in accordance with the most advanced museum principles.'¹²² The museum's elevated position on Mt Cook, Wellington, and austere classical facade presented a modern architectural adaptation of the Greek Acropolis.¹²³ Inside, a series of gallery spaces displayed Maori ethnology, ceramics, foreign ethnology, mammals, birds and insects, fishes,

¹¹⁸ For further discussion see Chapter Two 'Our Nation's Story 1914-42' Ibid.

¹¹⁹ J Allan Thomson, "Some Principles of Museum Administration Affecting the Future Development of the Dominion Museum," in *Dominion Museum - annual report* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1915).

¹²⁰ Ibid. p.9.

¹²¹ Ibid. p.10

¹²² "The New Dominion Museum," *Evening Post*, July 31 1936. p.6.

¹²³ "New Zealand's Treasure House: National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Official Opening Today," *The Dominion*, August 1 1936.

molluscs, reptiles and birds, kauri gum, botany and geology.¹²⁴ Maori culture remained a major feature of the museum, displayed both assimilated into New Zealand culture and history and positioned within the universal scientific framing of evolution and anthropology.

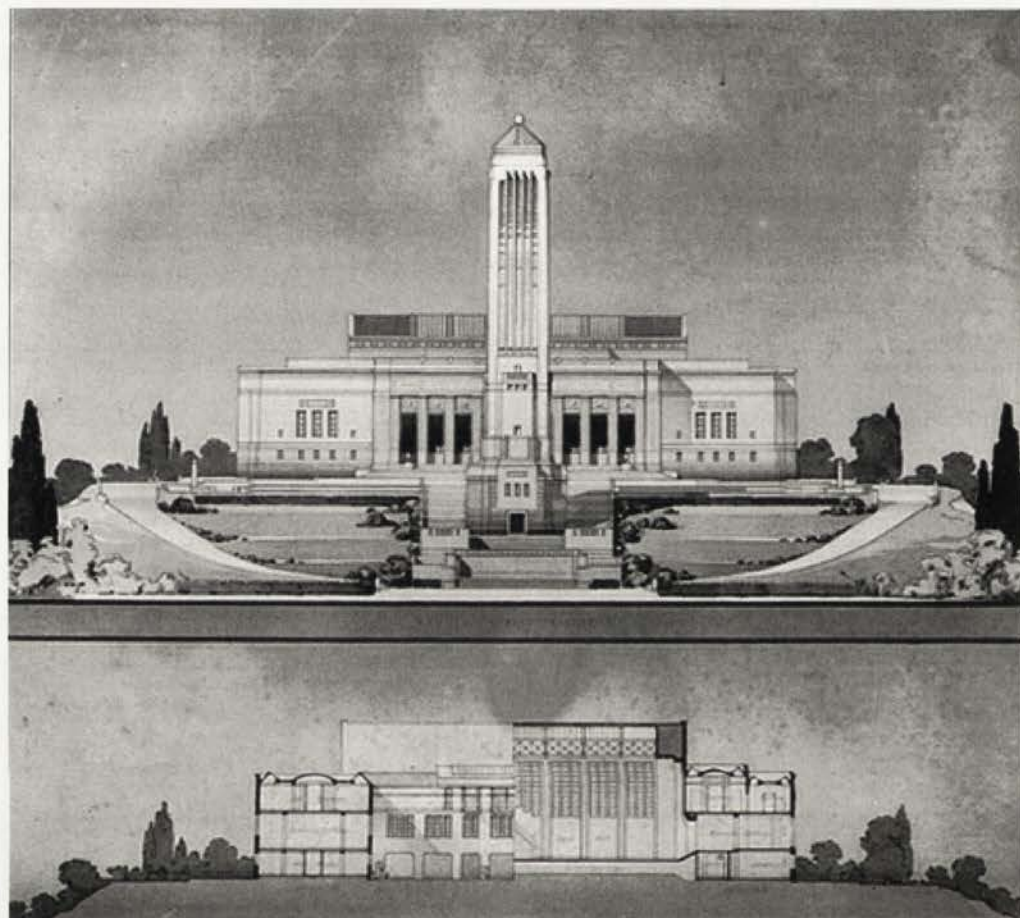


Figure 9 Gummer & Ford's winning design for the War Memorial Carillon and the Dominion Museum Competition 1929. [ATL-EP-3872-1/2-G]

The museum design emerged from a design competition won by Auckland architects Gummer & Ford. The winning competition entry, shown in Figure 9, consisted of three storeys structured around a central lit gallery space. The ground floor housed the museum offices, a large lecture hall, the reference collections and work-rooms; the first floor contained the exhibition galleries; and the upper floor was dedicated to the National Art Gallery and New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts. Despite claims of superior display qualities, much to the annoyance of museum director W.R.B. Oliver (appointed in 1928) the exhibition halls were not 'properly separated,' instead being defined by exhibits rather than by the structure of the building. Oliver argued that this planning created major

¹²⁴ W.R.B. Oliver, *New Zealand Museums: Present Establishment and Future Policy* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1944). p.30.

difficulties in developing appropriate sequences between the displays, and in providing an appropriate environment for the visitor to contemplate and study exhibits. He wrote in 1944,

The arrangement of the halls is in part a psychological problem: to have no defined halls at all, as in the Dominion Museum, means that a person entering one of the main wings of the museum sees at one view a confusing panorama of show-cases belonging to one side of the building and embracing exhibits that may cover such widely separated subjects as ethnology and zoology.¹²⁵

In a continuation of Hamilton's museum a Maori Hall, shown in Figure 10, formed the central focus, showcasing large specimens including four waka (canoes), two pataka (storehouses), waharoa (gateway to a pa), and a model pa. As McCarthy observes, the Hall was conceived of as a major symbolic space, positioned 'as a prehistoric foil to European history in New Zealand.'¹²⁶ This role was emphasised in newspaper reviews of the museum's opening day that highlighted the Hall as the 'central shrine' for a 'unique culture and an advanced one for a native race' that was considered 'inseparable from the story of early New Zealand' and 'interwoven into the very fabric of the colony's pioneer communities.'¹²⁷ Like the Maori Pa at the Christchurch Exhibition, the Maori Hall provided the young nation with a sense of cultural depth.

In contrast, the Maori Ethnological Gallery continued to position Maori artefact as part of a sequential developmental series. Located in the north east wing of the museum, the Gallery curated specimens within typologies of material culture. These typological displays presented within tall glass pier cases, illustrated in Figure 11, introduced a new role for text in the museum, essential for narrating 'the gaps' between the different specimens. Each case was clearly titled; a further 100 words offered an explanation of the case contents, while smaller labels adjacent to each object provided a final layer of information.¹²⁸ Importantly, narration constructed a new relationship between the viewer and the display. Rather than simply *looking* at the object, it was through the action of *reading* that viewers were able to *see* evidence of development within the collection, to see with 'an archaeological gaze.'¹²⁹ This technique introduced a sparsity of display, particularly apparent

¹²⁵ Ibid. p.20.

¹²⁶ McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*. p.81.

¹²⁷ "New Zealand's Treasure House: National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Official Opening Today." p.17.

¹²⁸ Conal McCarthy, "From Curio to Taonga : A Genealogy of Display at New Zealand's National Museum 1865-2001" (PhD, Victoria University of Wellington, 2004).p.134.

¹²⁹ Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. p. 168.

in a comparison between the image of the Gallery (Figure 11) with the Colonial Museum (Figure 12) taken some thirty years earlier.



Figure 10 Maori Hall at the Dominion Museum, Buckle Street, Wellington. ca. 1936.[ATL1/1-003855-G]



Figure 11 Display cabinets containing Maori artefact in the Dominion Museum, Wellington. ca. 1936. [ATL PAColl-6301-27]



Figure 12 Interior of the Colonial Museum ca.1900. [ATL PA4-1361]

In the early part of the twentieth century, the National and the Dominion Museum both clearly demonstrate a commonality of display practices of nature that accompanied and reflected the museum's transition from a single-minded focus on taxonomic displays of natural history to its development as a multi-disciplinary cultural institution reflective of modern scientific and display practices. While the distinctive representation of indigenous people remained within the museum well into the late twentieth century, the display of flora and fauna shifted significantly during the 1930s.

Naturalising Nature (and the Citizen)

Unlike international examples such as the American Museum of Natural History, London's Natural History Museum and the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in Paris, few Australian and New Zealand museums maintained a strict focus on natural history after World War I. Displays of the natural world in the Dominion Museum and the National Museum of Victoria evolved alongside a range of disciplinary knowledge including an emerging settler social history. Academic analysis and critique of this period therefore shifts from an initial focus on colonial science to an exploration of the historical displays of the mid-twentieth century museum that reflect an emerging sense of national identity and colonial independence.¹³⁰ Most analysis focuses on colonial artefact and archival

¹³⁰ See Graeme Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2000), Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa", Chris Healy, *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory*, ed. Alan Gilbert, Patricia Grimshaw, and Peter Spearitt, *Studies in Australian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chris Healy, "Histories and Collecting: Museums, Objects and Memories," in *Memory and History in Twentieth Century Australia*, ed. K. Darian-Smith & P. Hamilton (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994).

documents, and largely ignores parallel developments in the display of the natural world, which also continue to reflect cultural constructions.

I propose a new reading of this period by examining the intersection of displays of nature with this emerging nationalism and internationally-significant museum trends that stressed education and ecology. This analysis is supported by the consideration of contemporaneous displays produced in the American Museum of Natural History, an influential museum precedent that has been discussed by a range of scholars including Wonders, Harraway, Asma, Conn and Davis.¹³¹ The comparison of the Dominion Museum and the National Museum of Victoria reveals that while both adopted contextual ecological display techniques aligned with developments in the American museum, exemplified by the ecological diorama, the focus and educational message of the displays differs. The Australasian museums favour displays of the local environment, in contrast to the distant and exotic wilderness promoted by the American Museum of Natural History. I argue that this disparity is significant, and reflects a unique convergence of international trends with an emerging Australian and New Zealand nationalism that combined to locate both science and the citizen within the environmental specifics of the two nations.

Nature, Education and the Citizen

The introduction into the museum of a revised educational agenda focusing on natural history was not unique to Australia and New Zealand. It reflected an international trend towards a new liberalism of education based on the theories of Pestalozzie, who advocated teaching through the interaction with *things* rather than learning from rote, repetition or mechanical obedience.¹³² The British Education Act of 1902 encouraged visits to museums as an integral part of the school curriculum, contributing to broader government agendas for projecting a homogenous and unified British identity.¹³³ Bennett highlights a similar movement in the United States, in particular the actions of the American Museum of Natural History, which promoted a common language of natural history to counter the

¹³¹ Stephen T. Asma, *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), Davis, *Museums and the Natural Environment: The Role of Natural History Museums in Biological Conservation*, Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi & Claire Farago (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishers, 2004), Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*.

¹³² Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. p.31.

¹³³ Annie E. Coombes, "Ethnography and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. Susan Hiller (London: New York: Routledge, 1991), Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." pp. 231-232.

squalor and marginalisation experienced by the immigrant child.¹³⁴ Specific to Australia and New Zealand, however, was the convergence of an educational emphasis on natural history with a newly declared nationalism that created a unique intersection between nature, nation, education and the museum.

By 1904 nature study was an integral component of the school curriculum in Victoria, Tasmania, NSW and New Zealand, reflecting an enthusiasm for 'new education' that promoted the learning from objects and 'more systematic studies of the natural world.'¹³⁵ Nature study introduced children to physical nature, and stressed the experience of museums, zoos, reserves and parks as important education activities.¹³⁶ Promotion of nature was ardently nationalistic, aimed at 'naturalising' the children of the new nations. An emphasis on local nature was an important strategy for moral improvement and good citizenry. Days celebrating nature such as Wattle Day and Arbour Day provided schools and communities with opportunities to celebrate and reflect on the nation. New Zealand was especially anxious to distinguish itself from the dominant Australia, as well as to counter the 'moral effects of the wildness and freedom' experienced by New Zealand children.¹³⁷ The geographic isolation of the New Zealand child was the source of much concern. Lord Bledisloe stated in 1934 that visits by school children to the new Dominion Museum were 'vitaly important in a remote, ocean-girt country whose inhabitants suffer a constant risk in a fast moving world of the severe handicap of the geographical isolation being reflected in mental insularity and myopia.'¹³⁸

American Influence

The 1933 Carnegie Corporation study of Commonwealth museums proved a major catalyst for new educational agendas and display techniques.¹³⁹ The study warned against too much emphasis on research, stating of Australia that while it was an understandable temptation in 'a country where so much remains to be investigated in the realm of science,' it was vital to consider that 'the public (who after all foot the bill) judge a museum by its exhibited

¹³⁴ See Chapter Five Selective Memory in Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*.

¹³⁵ Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Nature Study in North America and Australasia, 1890-1945: International Connections and Local Implementations," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 11, no. 3 (1997). p. 446.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 447.

¹³⁷ Libby Robin, "Nationalising Nature: Wattle Days in Australia," *Journal of Australian Studies* 73, no. The Dog of War (2002). p.7.

¹³⁸ Charles Bledisloe, *The Proper Function and Scope of a National Art Gallery and Museum: Address of His Excellency Lord Bledisloe* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1934). p.8.

¹³⁹ The study was carried out by Major F.S. Markham a museum authority from Great Britain and H.C. Richards, Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at the University of Queensland.

collection and not by articles appearing in scientific journals.¹⁴⁰ Grants from the Carnegie Corporation encouraged Australian and New Zealand museums to experiment with display methods and also provided international expertise. Frank Tose, Director of Exhibits at the California Academy of Science, visited New Zealand in 1938, teaching a six week course at the Dominion for museum preparators.¹⁴¹ A grant of \$50,000 for the 'furtherance of educational work of museum and art galleries' was used in New Zealand to fund educational officers, establish school services in four major museums, encourage the exchange of displays among museums and fund experimental displays at Auckland and Otago museums.¹⁴²

H.C. McQueen's 1942 publication *Education in New Zealand Museums* outlines many of the new educative approaches. Cinema, museum clubs and games were proposed alongside travelling exhibitions that took natural history into the school.¹⁴³ Before its closure for the duration of the war, an average of 1200 school children were visiting the Dominion Museum weekly.¹⁴⁴ For children who could not attend the museum, school circulating cases provided alternative access. These exhibits included a series of 'habitat' displays, designed as small travelling cases that McQueen described in the following manner:

Each case contains a central exhibit, which is often a habitat group, with two panels of descriptive and illustrative matter on the inside of the doors. These doors are so arranged that, when they open, the panels and exhibit may be seen at the same time. Each exhibit is designed to convey ideas rather than a mere description of specimens, and the matter is presented as attractively as possible.¹⁴⁵

These small cases, as well as the larger displays exchanged between the major New Zealand museums, introduced ideas of ecology to children and the broader public. The ecological emphasis presented a major change from the linear chronology of the developmental series, and was premised instead on interrelationships between flora and fauna within specific geographies. The Dominion Museum developed new displays, many of which focused on a local ecology. Displays included insects and disease, the Kauri tree, Maori and the whale, and the life of the honey bee.¹⁴⁶ A 'storytelling' approach presented knowledge

¹⁴⁰ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p. 206.

¹⁴¹ Dell, *The First Hundred Years of the Dominion Museum*. p.180.

¹⁴² H.C. McQueen, *Education in New Zealand Museums: An Account of Experiments Assisted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York* (Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1942). p. 7.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Oliver, *New Zealand Museums: Present Establishment and Future Policy*. p.14.

¹⁴⁵ McQueen, *Education in New Zealand Museums: An Account of Experiments Assisted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York*. p.29.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.39.

as 'chapters' of a whole, formulated for specific audiences such as children rather than an all-encompassing general public.

Like evolutionary processes, ecological relationships were not apparent to the eye, and required additional explanations through a combination of diagram, interpretive text, images and artefact, all of which de-emphasised the significance of the object.¹⁴⁷ A multi-disciplinary approach was adopted, leading one National Museum curator to comment in 1958,

Gone are the days of mere bird-stuffing to cram a gallery shelf. With the combined effort of Scientist, preparator, Artists and Education Officer, a new museum exhibit becomes a story of animal life which a pair of mounted birds, however well mounted, would tell most inadequately.¹⁴⁸

The focus on nature study and education in the museums of Australia and New Zealand persevered well into the interwar period, a popularity not shared by America and Britain where nature study lost significance around World War I.¹⁴⁹ Historian Kohlstedt argues that this difference is evidence of the stronger connections between 'understanding indigenous flora and fauna and the commitment to national identity.'¹⁵⁰ Nature study, argues Kohlstedt, was sustained because it 'validated the particular, even unique aspects of Australia and New Zealand.'¹⁵¹ This focus on local ecology was further advanced with the introduction of the ecological habitat diorama to both the National and Dominion Museums. With its origins in the contextual displays of the International exhibitions, the ecological habitat diorama introduced a multi-disciplinary display practice, merging science with art and knowledge with experience.

An Ecology of Place

The opening of the Victorian Fauna Series at the National Museum in 1939 is considered an 'important milestone in the evolving engagement of non-Aboriginal Australians with their local environment.'¹⁵² Prepared by Charles Brazenor, the Series represent some of the first dioramas of an ecologically specific environment within an Australian museum. The

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p.27.

¹⁴⁸ Kalori 15 September 1956 cited Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p. 250.

¹⁴⁹ Kohlstedt, "Nature Study in North America and Australasia, 1890-1945: International Connections and Local Implementations."p.449.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.p. 449.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 450.

¹⁵² John Kean, "The McCoy Hall Victorian Fauna Dioramas: At Least Some Things Stay the Same," in *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854 -2000*, ed. C. Rasmussen (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2001).pp.220-221.

series is not, however, considered Australia's first 'diorama', an honour that is instead credited to a lion diorama, shown in Figure 13, also prepared by Brazenor in 1928.¹⁵³ In a major difference from its precedent, the Victorian Fauna Series featured the Victorian environment rather than an exotic and distant nature. Similarly, the early habitat dioramas of the Dominion Museum stressed New Zealand's fragile fauna, continuing the late-nineteenth century concern for extinction and conservation.

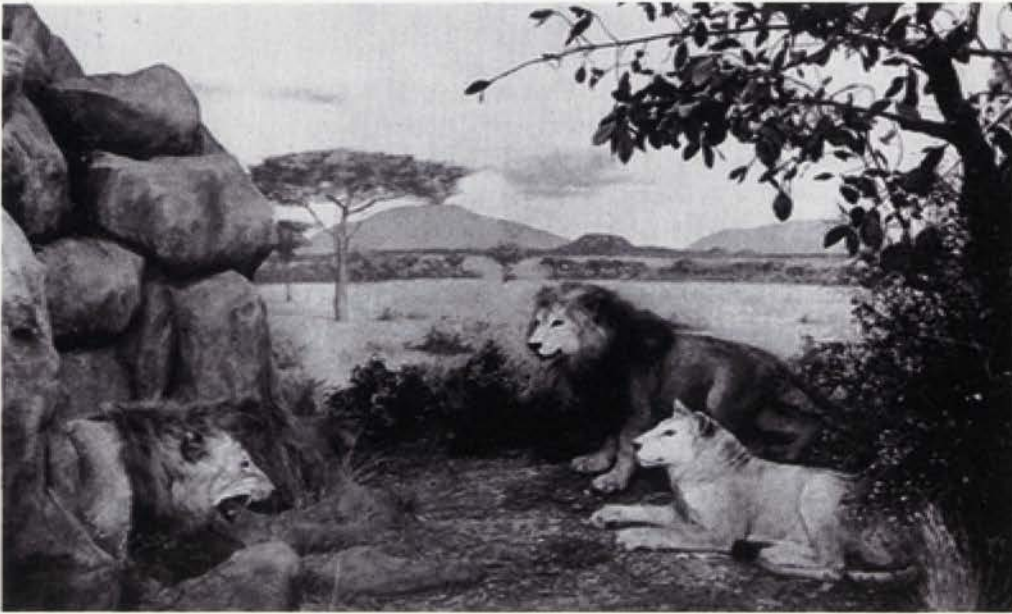


Figure 13 Lion Diorama, National Museum 1928. (Pescott, *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*, p.135.)

Origins of the habitat diorama and its introduction into the natural history museum have been widely debated. Taxidermists who had previously worked on the International Exhibitions introduced many of the contextual display techniques associated with the diorama. According to Karen Wonders' much-cited study, Gustaff Kolthoff pioneered the first habitat diorama for the Stockholm Biological Museum in 1893. Eight Nordic landscape regions were presented as 'landscape pictures,' viewed by visitors from within a central glass enclosed observational tower.¹⁵⁴ Historian Julia Voss and scientist Sahotra Sarkar argue that the Stockholm Biological Museum had 'marginal influence for the subsequent history of the diorama,' instead nominating a diorama that opened in 1906 at the Grand Ducal Museum in Darmstadt, Germany, as the first 'scientific' diorama, as distinct from a 'landscape' diorama.¹⁵⁵ Developed by the director of natural history Gottlieb von Koch, this scientific diorama featured the biogeographical zones of South America,

¹⁵³ Pescott, *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*. p.134.

¹⁵⁴ Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. pp.59-60.

¹⁵⁵ Julia Voss and Sahotra Sarkar, "Depictions as Surrogates for Places: From Wallace's Biogeography to Koch's Diorama," *Philosophy & Geography* 6, no. 1 (2003).pp.60-61.

Australia and Africa, and was considered a great success by the public and the scientific community.¹⁵⁶ Voss and Sarkar argue that visual scientific thinking was critical to the diorama, incorporating three major scientific attributes: ‘grouping of different taxa, explication of ecological relations, and representation of geographical locale.’¹⁵⁷

The Ecological Diorama

The Victorian Fauna Series shares this scientific visual thinking, and the dioramas are considered ‘three-dimensional field guides to Victoria’ of immense scientific and educational value.¹⁵⁸ Recessed into walls of the McCoy Hall, the series inserted a sequence of ‘scientific stories’ into the museum space. The first diorama depicted koalas near Worri Yallock, followed by displays featuring an eastern grey kangaroo group, wedge-tailed eagles and lyrebirds.¹⁵⁹ More displays were added throughout the 1950s. These dioramas owe much to the Carnegie Corporation-funded visit of Frank Tose, who, having acted in a similar role for the Dominion Museum, visited Melbourne to advise on ‘modern methods of display.’¹⁶⁰ Tose was responsible for the design of major habitat groups in the African Hall of Californian Academy of Science, considered the first museum to develop exhibition halls according to the illusionist principles of the habitat diorama.¹⁶¹

Significantly, the Victorian Series dioramas were not designed as *generalised* landscape settings, the approach evident at the International Exhibitions, but rather as ecologically *specific* places. Research for the Series involved expeditions to Halls Gap, the Loch Ard Gorge and Woori Yallock where records, photographs and specimens were taken of grasses, leaves, rocks and soil. An award winning graduate of the National Gallery Art School, George J. Browning, accompanied the expeditions, painting a small version of the scene.¹⁶² Everything within the diorama apart from the skins was recreated, including leaves, soil, plants, rocks, flowers and soil.¹⁶³ It is this scientifically-accurate recording and attention to detail that distinguishes the ecological habitat diorama from the landscape diorama. Designers carefully reconstructed the detail of a particular place within the museum, presenting not only a specific geographic locale but a specific season and time. Design was no longer the particular domain of the director and taxidermist: it now required

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 61.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 72.

¹⁵⁸ Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. p. 220

¹⁵⁹ Pescott, *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*. p.145.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p.143.

¹⁶¹ Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. p. 140.

¹⁶² Rasmussen, *A Museum for the People: A History of Museum Victoria and Its Predecessors 1854-2000*. pp. 219-220.

¹⁶³ Cited Ibid., p. 219.

‘expensive taxidermy, sculpture, model-making, painting and preserving technique, performed in an atmosphere of critical scientific observation and discipline.’¹⁶⁴

The early habitat dioramas of the American Natural History Museum did not share this emphasis on the local surrounds, favouring instead a romantic and distant wilderness. Comparison of the mountain lion group from the American Museum of Natural History with the eastern grey kangaroo diorama from the National Museum, both developed in the early 1940s, clearly demonstrates this distinction. The grey kangaroo diorama, shown in Figure 14, depicts kangaroos in a scrubby grassland of grass trees and eucalypts, an image not overtly picturesque or scenic but instead premised on the representation of a specific scientific environment. Constructed at eye level, the diorama replicates the sensation of the viewer coming across the kangaroos in the bush, a common experience for many Victorians. While the depiction of the male kangaroo on his hind legs offers a more threatening pose than the other kangaroos, his gaze is off to the distance and not directly challenging the viewer. A young joey, positioned closest to the viewer, creates a less threatening foreground, shunning the dramatic narratives evident in many of the International and Colonial exhibition dioramas.



Figure 14 The Grey Kangaroo, A diorama in the National Museum, 1940. (Pescott, *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*, p. 143.)

In contrast, the mountain lion diorama shown in Figure 15 highlights the monumental romantic ‘wilderness’ of the Grand Canyon, and pays limited attention to flora and fauna.

¹⁶⁴ N. McGillivray, Volunteer Guide Notes 1985, typescript, Museum Victoria Archives, cited *Ibid.* p. 219.

The mountain lions are not the focus of the diorama, but are used instead as artistic devices in the landscape, akin to artists introducing people into picturesque landscape paintings. Similar to others in the Hall of North American Mammals, the diorama depicts a 'typical' nationalistic wilderness, considered by Wonders as 'visual sanctuaries for the urban populace.'¹⁶⁵ As a result, this approach is more suggestive of a landscape rather than an ecological habitat diorama.



Figure 15 Mountain lions with a background of the Grand Canyon, American Museum of Natural History. www.amnh.org/exhibitions/dioramas/

Specimens for the dioramas in the African, North American and Asian Mammal Halls were all sourced from the great scientific collecting expeditions from 1880 to the 1930s, an act that Donna Haraway argues demonstrates the influence of the 'philanthropic activities of men' in depicting an exotic nature of interest to wealthy sportsmen.¹⁶⁶ Emphasis on overseas exotica and a distant wilderness drew criticism from the subsequent director of the American Museum of Natural History, Alfred Parr, who in 1943 declared these approaches misdirected. Parr stated that rather than memorialise the wilderness, these dioramas should have educated the public about conservation, suggesting that the public would learn more about ecology by viewing familiar landscapes.¹⁶⁷

No doubt Parr would have approved of the representation of the 'accessible and familiar' landscapes and animals in the Victorian Fauna Series, which exhibition curator John Kean concludes reflects 'a reconciliation with the Australian environment,' telling us much about

¹⁶⁵ Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History*. p. 182.

¹⁶⁶ Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." p.244.

¹⁶⁷ Asma, *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums*. pp.43-44.

the psyche of Melbourne mid-century.¹⁶⁸ The early dioramas of the Dominion Museum shared an emphasis on a 'local' environment. In contrast to the Victoria Fauna Series, the dioramas reflected concern for species extinction. The first, completed in 1951 featured small habitat groups of kiwi and penguin, followed by a larger habitat diorama of the takahe (*Notornis*) within 'its last known sanctuary.'¹⁶⁹ The takahe display was particularly emotive, given this gooselike flightless bird was considered extinct until 1948, having been only sighted twice since 1879.¹⁷⁰ In 1948, Geoffrey Orbell sighted the bird in a remote area of Fiordland, and within three years the bird featured in one of the museum's first ecological dioramas. Given the bird's rarity, the exhibition did not use real specimens but instead incorporated three 'built-up' models, shown in Figure 16. The addition of further habitat groups in 1952 included the tuatara and a display illustrating bird migration, while two years later the takahe exhibit evolved into a larger display featuring the reconstruction of bird life and plants of the valley where it was rediscovered, aptly renamed Takahe Valley.¹⁷¹



Figure 16 Notornis habitat diorama, bird gallery. [TPA B.014463]

Major changes in display practice accompanied the adoption of the ecological diorama within the Dominion and National Museums. A specific temporality and geographic spatiality was critical, and represented a major departure from both taxonomic classifications that remained divorced from time and space, and the temporally ordered

¹⁶⁸ Kean, "The Mccooy Hall Victorian Fauna Dioramas: At Least Some Things Stay the Same."p.223.
¹⁶⁹ Dominion Museums Management Committee, "Annual Report of the Dominion Museum," (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1951).p.5.
¹⁷⁰ Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand*. p. 140.
¹⁷¹ Dominion Museums Management Committee, "Annual Report of the Dominion Museum."pp.5-7.

evolution series positioned outside of geographic space. The site- and time-specific framing was also at odds with the contextual displays of the International exhibitions that constructed landscapes of generalities. Critics of the habitat diorama in the museum have emphasised their negative impact on science and knowledge, arguing the sacrifice of scientific knowledge in favour of popular entertainment. Stephan Conn states of the American experience that the adoption of dioramas reflected a move away from a commitment to both science and popular education.¹⁷² While this may be true of America, this examination of the National Museum of Victoria and the Dominion Museum demonstrates that the dioramas of the two museums remained focused on science and education rather than presenting 'landscape' images.

.....

In less than fifty years, display practices of nature within the Dominion Museum and the National Museum of Victoria evolved from a universal taxonomic classification that positioned an unfamiliar colonial nature in relationship to imperial science, into displays that engaged with an ecology of the local. An increasingly multi-disciplinary display practice paralleled this transition, exemplified by the ecological diorama that merged art and science, experience and education.

While this genealogy of display was influenced by imported scientific paradigms and associated display conventions adopted in museums throughout the world, the analysis of these two museums also identifies distinctive representations of an 'indigenous' nature within the two museums. A difference in the temporal relationship constructed between indigenous people and nation is apparent. Where Maori were displayed in a position of cultural superiority, assimilated into an emerging national story of New Zealand, displays of Australian Aborigines were temporally and geographically dislocated from European culture. Secondly, the rapid ecological change that followed European colonisation of New Zealand emerged as a concern as early as the late nineteenth century. While the mid-twentieth century Dominion Museum and National Museum of Victoria adopted ecological display techniques and an emphasis on education aligned with developments in American museums, their convergence with an emerging twentieth-century nationalism combined to situate both science and the public within the specifics of the Australian and New Zealand environment.

¹⁷² Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life 1876-1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). p. 70.

Chapter Two

The National Park: two genealogies

In this chapter I shift my focus from the museum to the national park. In constructing genealogies of the two iconic national parks of Tongariro and Ayers Rock-Mt Olga I will show how the conceptualisation of indigenous people discussed previously in relationship to the museum was equally influential in the evolution of the national parks. I examine and compare the motivations for the declaration and subsequent development of Tongariro and Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Parks over the course of the twentieth century. I begin with Tongariro National Park, examining the legislative foundations of the much-celebrated 'gifting' of the park by Maori to the Crown. Drawing on institutional accounts and histories, guidebooks, government reports, tourist advertisements, photographs and plans, I uncover motivations for the park's development as both a representational and a physical space.

I then turn to the unfolding relationship between wilderness, nationalism, tourism and the national park, which led to the re-conceptualisation of Tongariro as an iconic mountain wilderness and the recognition of the desert landscape of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga as a national park. In the case of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga, this transformation of the desert interior into an 'iconic' national park is explored through the analysis of historical accounts, combined with key texts such as *Walkabout* magazine and photographic images of the park. I develop the comparative analysis further by contrasting this transformation with subsequent developments of Tongariro National Park, characterized by the adoption of management strategies aligned with the American National Park Service.

Scenic Nature

Politicians and government officials who had experienced first-hand the American parks of Yellowstone and Yosemite swiftly imported the concept of the national park from its origins in America to the colonies of Australasia. William Fox, a keen painter, explorer and former premier, is credited with introducing the idea to New Zealand in 1874, citing the protection of the thermal wonders in Yellowstone as a precedent for the acquisition of the Rotorua thermal region.¹ However, the resultant Thermal-Springs Districts Act of 1891 did

¹Paul Star and Lynne Lochhead, "Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant 1880-1930," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002).p.123.

not lead to a national park and ironically promoted settlement to take advantage of the 'revenue-producing potential of the sanatoria.'² It was the colony of NSW that declared the first antipodean national park in 1879, named simply National Park, and considered the world's second national park as well as Australia's first public reserve. Credit for the park is attributed to Sir John Robertson who held colonial positions as the Minister of Lands, Colonial Secretary and Premier during the 1860s and 1870s.³

According to the *1893 Official Guide* for the park 17,300 hectares of land was chosen for its proximity to Sydney, its suitability for military manoeuvres, recreation, camping grounds and plantations of ornamental trees and shrubs, together with its landscape characteristics of valleys and gorges, considered 'a wealth of picturesque and quiet beauty.'⁴ Origins of National Park therefore share little of the scenic nationalism and celebration of wilderness that inspired the American national park system. Instead, National Park was conceived of as a 'national pleasure ground' to provide an invigorating experience for the 'jaded citizens' of Sydney and to provide for the acclimatisation of exotic plants and animals.⁵ Public health and town planning ideals that advocated the value of open space for urban development also influenced its origins, and the park was intended for the use of the more than 200,000 people living in Sydney in 1879.⁶ Similarly, a 'designed' picturesque landscape was replicated by South Australia's first national park, declared at Belair in the Adelaide Hills in 1891. This park was developed as 'a national recreation and pleasure ground' for the city of Adelaide, complete with tennis courts, ornamental trees, pavilions and ovals.⁷

Of all the Australian colonies, Tasmania, with its picturesque mountains, lush valleys and fast flowing rivers most easily related to European scenic ideals. By 1863 'Reserves for scenic purposes' were provided for under the Waste Lands Act of 1855, and by the turn of the century Tasmania had designated six scenery reserves, three cave reserves, two fall reserves and a fernery reserve, all of which were considered good tourist potential for the colony.⁸ Despite the early valuing of scenic landscape, Tasmania was the last of all

² Ibid. p.123.

³ Brett J. Stubbs, "National Parks and Forest Conservation," *Australian and New Zealand Forest Histories: Short Overviews* Occasional Publication, no. 1 (2005). p.34.

⁴ Authority of the Trustees, *An Official Guide to the National Park of New South Wales* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1893). p.9.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Stubbs, "National Parks and Forest Conservation." p.34.

⁷ Ibid. p.35.

⁸ www.parks.tas.gov.au

Australian colonies to establish a national park, when it declared Mt Field and Freycinet National Parks in 1916.⁹

It is clear from this brief summary of the establishment of the early nineteenth century Australian 'colonial' national parks that there was no guiding 'model.' Instead, their development reflects a mix of attitudes and practices ranging from the health benefits of open space, British ideals of recreation and the picturesque, and the economic possibilities afforded by scenic tourism.

Similar to Tasmania, New Zealand developed an early commitment to scenic preservation rather than national parks that culminated in the Scenery Preservation Act 1903. Pre-dating similar legislation for national parks by seventy years, the Act allowed the compulsory acquisition of private and Maori land if deemed of sufficient scenic quality.¹⁰ By the turn of the century, only two New Zealand national parks had been established, Tongariro in 1894 and Egmont in 1900.

Given its status as New Zealand's first national park, Tongariro has attracted extensive historical inquiry, thoroughly documented in David Thom's *Heritage: The Parks of the People*, and in specific historical accounts by Cowan, Harlen, Harris, and the Tongariro Natural History Society.¹¹ As one of the oldest examples of the conservation estate, Tongariro also features in analyses of tourism, scenic preservation, wilderness and conservation in New Zealand. It is, however, something of an anomaly as it was created through the 'gifting' of Maori land to the Crown, a unique distinction in the formation of national parks internationally and one that has significance for its subsequent development.

As this analysis will show, textual and visual representations of Tongariro National Park in guidebooks and tourist advertisements were extremely influential in shaping tourist demand and expectations of the park. While minimal infrastructure was evident in the park by the early part of the twentieth century, the *concept* of the park was significantly revised from a

⁹ Stubbs, "National Parks and Forest Conservation." p. 39.

¹⁰ Star and Lochhead, "Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant 1880-1930." p.126.

¹¹ See James Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore* (Wellington: Tongariro National Park Board, 1927), Liesl Harlen, "From 'Useless' Lands to World Heritage: A History of Tourism in Tongariro National Park" (Masters of Business Studies, Massey, 1999), W.W Harris, "Three Parks: An Analysis of the Origins and Evolution of the New Zealand National Park Movement" (Master of Arts, University of Canterbury, 1974), David Thom, *Heritage: The Parks of the People* (Auckland: Lansdowne Press, 1987). Department of Conservation and Tongariro Natural History Society, *The Restless Land: Stories of Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area* (Turangi: Department of Conservation, 1998).

late-nineteenth century showcasing of a Maori cultural landscape to a focus on its 'extraordinariness', exemplified by its diverse recreational and landscape experiences and its unique origins as a gift. This revision shares many similarities with the Maori Hall at the Dominion Museum, which co-opted Maori culture to provide a sense of historic depth, tradition, and legitimacy to the emerging nation. By restricting recognition of Maori cultural connections to Tongariro National Park to the act of gifting, the landscape became free to be reinvented as a national space of scenic and recreational wonder, unhindered by any prior history or obligation to Maori.

The Gift

Tongariro National Park was created when the Maori tribe Ngati Tuwharetoa gifted to the Crown the three volcanic peaks of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu, located on the North Island's Central Plateau. The concept of the 'gift' is pivotal to historical and contemporary accounts of Tongariro National Park. Historian David Thom claims that the American ideal of the national park 'was adopted by a great Maori chief in an act that has no parallel in any other history.'¹² Similarly, the 2007 Management Plan highlights the uniqueness of the 'gift of an indigenous people,' stating that the act created 'a three-way bond between land, Maori and pakeha.'¹³ The park's nomination as a World Heritage cultural landscape stressed the gift's significance, claiming that the 'spirit of the gift continued in the creation of further national parks.'¹⁴ All of these accounts perpetuate the view of the gift as an unconditional act of generosity and vision on the part of Maori. Yet at the time of writing (2008) the legitimacy of the 'gift' is under investigation by the Waitangi Tribunal,¹⁵ suggesting that the act may reflect a far more complex negotiation between Maori and the Crown than the term 'gift' implies.¹⁶

The volcanoes of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu attracted the early attention of European geologists, explorers, missionaries and artists, who generated accounts of a

¹² Thom, *Heritage: The Parks of the People*. p.xiii.

¹³ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro," (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2006).p.20.

¹⁴ S P Forbes, "Nomination of the Tongariro National Park for the Inclusion in the World Heritage Cultural List: He Koha Tapu-a Sacred Gift," in *Conservation Advisory Science Notes No. 68*. (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 1994). p.15.

¹⁵ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The tribunal's role is to make recommendations on claims by Maori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breach the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

¹⁶ The National Park claim includes the investigation of the alleged 'gift' of the mountain peaks by Tuwharetoa paramount chief Te Heuheu Tukino in 1887 and the operations of the Native Land Court in the district. The first hearing of the inquiry took place in February 2006 with the final report not likely to be completed before 2009. For more information see <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/nationalpark>

rugged interior, populated by Ngati Tuwharetoa and the confederation of Whanganui iwi. These peaks were of immense importance to iwi, and considered so revered or 'tapu' that on occasions Maori used leaves as blinkers to prevent an accidental viewing.¹⁷ While early European accounts emphasised a visually monumental landscape, to local iwi the volcanic peaks and surrounding land were significant for their spiritual and ancestral values. The mountains (maunga) were intrinsically linked to their whakapapa, part of their genealogical identity, obligating iwi as tangata whenua to safeguard and protect them.¹⁸ Such contrasting values towards the volcanic peaks led to clashes over European attempts to climb the volcanoes. John Bidwell's 1839 ascent of Ngauruhoe, for instance attracted the ire of then-Paramount Chief Te Heuheu Mananui, to which Bidwell replied dismissively:

I said that a Pakiha [sic] could do no harm in going up, as no place was taboo to a Pakiha; that the taboo only applied to Mowries [sic]; and finally that if the mountain was an atua, I must be a greater atua, or I could not have got to the top of it.¹⁹

A Scenic Landscape

For the next 30 years, Ngati Tuwharetoa prevented all climbs, even stopping artist George French Angus from painting the mountains on his visit in 1844.²⁰ Geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter journeyed through the region in 1859, preparing the first geological map and numerous sketches, one of which inspired the etching, shown in Figure 17, depicting surveyors recording the distant smoking volcanoes.²¹ The New Zealand Wars of the 1860s interrupted travel to the area, and it was not until an 1882 expedition led by Special Commissioner for the *New Zealand Herald*, J.H. Kerry-Nicholls, that attention focused again on the scenic potential of the volcanoes. Venturing into an 'unknown region ruled over by the Maori King,' Kerry-Nicholls published a series of articles describing the majestic landscape qualities of the central plateau, 'a region designed, as it were by the artistic hand of nature.'²² Kerry-Nicholls suggested the Crown purchase the land, stating that

For healthfulness of climate, variety of scenery and volcanic and thermal wonders there would be no place to equal it in the northern or southern hemisphere...its purchase from the natives for a public domain should be one of the foremost duties of any government having the welfare of the State at heart.²³

¹⁷ Department of Conservation and Tongariro Natural History Society, *The Restless Land: Stories of Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area*. p.28.

¹⁸ The concept of whakapapa forms part of Maori cultural knowledge encompassing tribal history, whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs) and social arrangements.

¹⁹ Department of Conservation and Tongariro Natural History Society, *The Restless Land: Stories of Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area*. p.29.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 29.

²¹ Harlen, "From 'Useless' Lands to World Heritage: A History of Tourism in Tongariro National Park". p. 50

²² J.H. Kerry, "Explorations in the King Country," *Auckland Weekly News* 1883. p.6.

²³ Ibid.

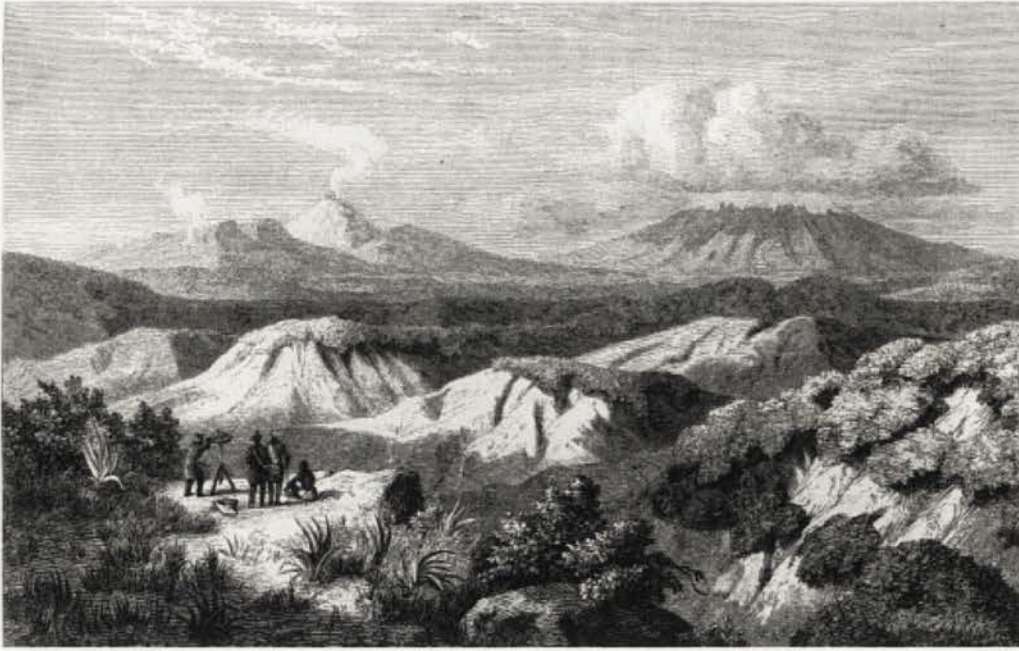


Figure 17 Tongariro and Ruapehu. View from Mount Ngariha towards South East. Engraver Eduard Ade, after a sketch by Ferdinand von Hochstetter 1867. [ATL PUBL-0121-354]

Vivid and enthusiastic descriptions, such as Nicholls, combined with images and maps from geologists and surveyors brought the scenic value of the remote Central Plateau to the attention of politicians. Parliamentarian Dr A.K. Newman, aware of both Yellowstone Park and the proposed extension of rail into the central North Island, supported the purchase of the peaks by the Crown. The *Weekly News* reported that ‘Dr Newman desires that it should be preserved from the hands of the spoiler in the same way as Yellowstone and other “lions” of American scenery.’²⁴ Despite their involvement in the Land Wars, Ngati Tuwharetoa escaped land confiscation, a punishment inflicted on many Maori participating in the wars.²⁵ Formation of a national park, in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi, thereby required ‘its purchase from the natives’ as pointed out by Kerry-Nicholls.

Member of Parliament Lawrence Grace, who was married to the daughter of the Ngati Tuwharetoa Paramount Chief Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino, invited Maori to sell the land to the Crown.²⁶ Te Heuheu was reluctant to sell. It was in response to the actions of the Native Land Court in 1885 that Te Heuheu considered gifting the land to the Crown. He had become concerned that the neighbouring Maniapoto iwi would infiltrate his lands, and that the splitting of the lands into individual title would break up customary ownership.

²⁴ *Weekly News* October 18, 1884 Parliamentary News and Gossip Column cited in Harris, "Three Parks: An Analysis of the Origins and Evolution of the New Zealand National Park Movement". p. 49.

²⁵ Ngati Tuwharetoa fought with the Waikato tribe in 1863, and later assisted Te Kooti.

²⁶ Harris, "Three Parks: An Analysis of the Origins and Evolution of the New Zealand National Park Movement". p.50.

James Cowan's 1927 guidebook for Tongariro National Park provides an account of the gift transaction, in a version he claims as the 'first time fully recorded.'²⁷ According to Cowan, Te Heuheu asked Grace for advice during an adjournment in the Native Land Court, stating:

If our mountains of Tongariro are included in the blocks passed through the Court in the ordinary way, what will become of them? They will be cut up and perhaps sold, a piece going to one pakeha and a piece to another. They will become of no account for the tapu will be gone. Tongariro is my ancestor, my tupuna; it is my head; my mana centres around Tongariro...I cannot consent to the Courts passing these mountains through in the ordinary way. After I am dead what will be their fate?²⁸

Grace suggested making the mountains a 'tapu place of the Crown, a sacred place under the mana of the Queen' stating 'Why not give them to the Government as a reserve and park, to be the property of all the people of New Zealand, in memory of Te Heuheu and his tribe?'²⁹ Subsequent letters between Te Heuheu and the Native Minister Hon. John Balance outlined the terms of Te Heuheu's gift: first, that the remains of his father be removed from the mountain and that the Government erect a tomb (urupa kowhatu) and secondly, that his son's name be inserted into the National Park Act to act as the trustee after his death.³⁰

On 23 September 1887 a deed between Te Heuheu Tukino, 'aboriginal native chief of the Colony of New Zealand,' and Her Majesty the Queen was signed.³¹ It took a further seven years before the land was given national park status, during which time the government sought to expand the original deed of 2640 hectares, considered by the Crown as too small for a national park. The passing of the Tongariro National Park Act 1894 not only created the national park, but also provided for the Governor to purchase a further 25,000 hectares of the summit. The Crown gave Maori no option but to sell their land, arguing that the summit land was only valuable as scenery, and consequently of no use to Maori.³² This land acquisition attracted the wrath of the Member for Northern Maori, Mr Heke, who argued

²⁷ Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore*. p.29.

²⁸ Ibid. pp.30-31.

²⁹ Ibid. pp.30-31.

³⁰ Letter dated Sept 23, 1887 cited in Ibid. pp.31-32.

³¹ Ibid. p.33

³² Minister of Lands, Hon. McKenzie in New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, vol. 80 (28 July 1893) at 322 cited Jacinta Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience," *Indigenous Law Journal* 3 (2004). p. 122.

that the act ‘was a monstrous piece of legislation’ that was ‘entirely inconsistent with the Treaty of Waitangi.’³³



Figure 18 Tracing of country around Tokaanu [ms maps]. Compiled from surveys by W. Cussen, Auth. Survr. [Map Coll-832.17cba/[1888] Acc.35736]

These two distinct actions, the former engaging a level of co-operation between Maori and the Crown and the latter relying on legislation to enforce land confiscation, were a tactic repeated in the formation of New Zealand’s second National Park, Mount Egmont, in 1900.³⁴ Whether the first action can be considered a gift is certainly disputable given that the ‘gifting’ occurred under duress. The action of gifting did, however, provide Maori with

³³ Heke, "Tongariro National Park Bill," (1894). p. 679.

³⁴ In this later case, the near perfect volcanic mountain was confiscated from local iwi though the passing of a range of legislation including the New Zealand Settlement Act 1863.

a continuing relationship with the National Park, allowing for the paramount chief's son to be appointed to the park's Management Board for life, with a successor named thereafter every five years.³⁵ Despite this and in common with all nineteenth-century antipodean national parks, iwi were stripped of their customary rights to the land and their ability to exercise their customary guardianship or kaitiakitanga over the land.³⁶ And in spite of the apparent safeguard for on-going Maori involvement, the major influence in determining park direction came not from the Management Board, but instead from the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

Representational Reciprocities

The ability of landscape to conform to a pre-determined 'pictorial nature' was central to the acceptance of the volcanic landscape of Tongariro as a national park. An aesthetic image of landscape as distinct from an ecological value of environment was the major determinant in the park's formation. As cultural theorist Simon Ryan argues, a picturesque construction was not purely an aesthetic value but a land-colonising practice, carrying 'the same utilitarian ideologies of land function possessed by instrumentalist science, which meant that if the land was picturesque it was ripe for transformation into wealth.'³⁷ In colonial New Zealand, wealth meant scenic tourism, particularly following the advent of steamships and the opening of the Suez Canal that connected Australia and New Zealand to an international tourist market.³⁸ Representations of scenic landscapes as both text and image were circulated in postcards, paintings, journal articles and travel guides and formed an influential script for shaping tourist demand and experience, and in turn the physical development of the park. Examination of early-twentieth century tourist representations of Tongariro National Park reveals parallel representations of a rich Maori cultural landscape and a natural playground. Over time these were gradually revised to emphasise instead the 'extraordinariness' of the national park, defined by its unique recreational and landscape experiences and its origins as a 'gift'.

Unlike the colonial museum, the national park's early function was not to make sense of a foreign nature but rather to gain the economic benefits of scenic tourism. Scenic tourism

³⁵ Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience." p. 126.

³⁶ The term kaitiakitanga is commonly translated as the principle of guardianship, custodianship or stewardship.

³⁷ Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996). p. 57.

³⁸ By the 1880s it was possible to travel from Europe to New Zealand in four to seven weeks compared with the previous three to six months. By 1881, British company Thomas Cook employed a New Zealand agent in Auckland, and in less than two years further offices had opened in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Brisbane and Hobart.

drove two competing agendas: the desire to protect scenic areas by the declaration of national parks and scenic reserves, and the intent to exploit these areas for tourism. By the early twentieth century Tongariro National Park was absorbed into a network of scenic landscapes spread throughout New Zealand. Landscapes were 'marketed' in two ways, either as superior to those of the northern hemisphere or as offering a unique experience. Superior landscape qualities were used to distinguish New Zealand from Australia, leading New Zealander William Pember Reeves to proclaim in 1893 that 'in Australia there was not nearly so much beautiful scenery as there was in New Zealand, and the scenery there was not anything like so sublime a character as ours.'³⁹

The following extract from a 1901 tourist advertisement illustrates the often contradictory framings, simultaneously acclaiming New Zealand's picturesque beauty and weirdness and exhibiting familiar grandeur, yet also home to exotic Maori:

New Zealand, New Zealand

The True Wonderland of the World!

The Home of the Maori!

The Most Magnificently Picturesque, Beautiful, and Weird Country in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres

A Dream of Grandeur and Beauty.⁴⁰

Writing the Landscape

The writings of journalist James Cowan were particularly influential in defining the early twentieth century's view of Tongariro National Park. Cowan worked for New Zealand's Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, which was established in 1901 and considered the world's first national tourist organization.⁴¹ In 1901 Cowan produced *Lake Taupo and the Volcanoes*, written as an alternative to 'regulation' guide-books that, according to Cowan, were crammed full of 'tabulated facts and figures, mileages, fares and chemical analysis of hot-springs and so forth.'⁴² Cowan's guide book emphasises Tongariro as part of a broader Maori cultural landscape associated with nearby Lake Taupo, and describes 'the quaint folklore of the Maori people' alongside accounts of the scenic beauties and the thermal wonderland. According to Cowan, understanding Maori cultural connections to the

³⁹ William Pember Reeves (City of Christchurch), NZPD, v. 79 (1893), p. 267. cited Paul Allan Hamer, "Nature and Natives: Transforming and Saving the Indigenous in New Zealand" (M.A, Victoria University of Wellington, 1992). p. 106.

⁴⁰ Advertisement in James Cowan, *Lake Taupo and Volcanoes: Scenes from Lake and Mountain and Tales from Maori Folk-Lore*, reprinted in 2004 by Tongariro Natural History Society ed. (Auckland: Geddis & Blomfield at the Observer Officer, 1901).

⁴¹ Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2004). p.2.

⁴² Cowan, *Lake Taupo and Volcanoes: Scenes from Lake and Mountain and Tales from Maori Folk-Lore*. preface

landscape was vital, claiming that the inclusion of Maori stories provided the visitor with ‘that human interest with which the grandest scenery is in a manner unsatisfying.’⁴³

Over the next thirty years, Cowan published further accounts of Tongariro in national guide books. His descriptions were influential in determining tourist routes and how tourists would see and value the landscape, or, as Lydia Wevers observes, in ‘making hierarchical discriminations about scenery, natural wonders and indigenous peoples.’⁴⁴ Links between Tongariro National Park, Lake Taupo and Maori culture featured in Cowan’s 1907 national guidebook *New Zealand or Ao-Tea-Roa: Its Wealth and Resources, Scenery, Travel-Routes, Spas and Sport*, that included the chapter ‘Lake Taupo and the Tongariro National Park.’ Cowan emphasised the significance of the area as a natural and cultural wonderland reflecting the ‘strange manifestations of Nature’s untameable powers’ while also ‘teeming with Maori mythology and legendary lore.’⁴⁵ The importance of the volcanoes to the Maori was highlighted, and they were described as ‘veritable embodiments of their ancient gods’ with Tongariro considered ‘the sacred mountain of the Native race, the Olympus of Maoriland.’⁴⁶ It was only in the last sentence that Cowan suggested climbing the mountains, describing them as ‘readily and safely ascended, and afford grand summer climbs.’⁴⁷

In 1927 Cowan published the first guidebook for Tongariro National Park and introduced a new emphasis on the park as ‘a great national holiday-ground.’⁴⁸ This shift in emphasis reflected the new tourist opportunities that emerged following improved transportation networks and the introduction of skiing in 1913.⁴⁹ Completion of the main trunk road offered direct access from Wellington, while the commencement of car trips between Wellington and Auckland, the first in 1912, further opened the park to tourism.⁵⁰ Whereas Cowan’s 1901 guide book wrapped Maori stories and mythologies throughout the descriptions of the volcanic landscape, this later book delineated categories of landscape

⁴³ Cowan *Lake Taupo and Volcanoes* pp.5-6.

⁴⁴ Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).p.11.

⁴⁵ James Cowan, *New Zealand or Ao-Tea-Roa: Its Wealth and Resources, Scenery, Travel-Routes, Spas and Sport* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1907). p. 121.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.121.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.125.

⁴⁸ Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore.* preface

⁴⁹ In 1913 William Mead and Bernard Drake sent money to Switzerland to purchase a set of skis. In July they took their skis and instruction manual to Ruapehu. They were to discover that the Whakapapa Valley was very suitable for skiing.

⁵⁰ Previously visitors travelled from Wanganui through combination of paddle steamer and horse drawn carriage.

features such as the volcanoes, the mountains, rivers, waterfalls and plants from Maori cultural perspectives.

Significantly, Cowan's 1927 guide highlighted the story of the gift, featured in the second chapter and proclaimed as the 'first time fully written,' relegating Maori history, folklore, poetry, and place names to the back of the book. The gift is emphasised as an extraordinary act, and replaces the earlier priority given to the park as a Maori cultural landscape. This reframing shares similarities with the Maori Hall at the Dominion Museum. Just as the Maori Hall framed Maori cultural artefact as a preface to the New Zealand national story, so emphasising the gift provided the New Zealand national park system with a unique origin.

Cowan now described the landscape features independently from their Maori cultural associations, considered an 'extraordinary mingling of the alpine and sylvan and the volcanic and hydro-thermal.'⁵¹ He continued:

Steaming craters, sulphurous pits, a boiling lake, ice-cold lakes, glaciers, snow-fields, alpine slopes inviting the master of what has now come to be called 'snowmanship' in sport; torrents and bubbling springs, rapids and waterfalls, huge cliffs and rocky pinnacles, forests and wild fern gardens, mountain meadows bright with the leagues of flowers – to enumerate the varied scenes of Tongariro Park is almost to make a catalogue of all New Zealand's landscapes.⁵²

Despite the variety of landscape experiences on offer, only a rudimentary infrastructure of huts, roads and tracks was evident in the park, some of which are depicted on the map accompanying the guide book, shown in Figure 19. Cowan did speculate on the possibility of more elaborate infrastructure, suggesting a time when Tongariro would operate as both a summer and winter resort, 'a St. Moritz of the Southern Hemisphere.'⁵³ A step towards Cowan's vision was achieved in the late 1920s following the Park Board's adoption of the American policy of franchising accommodation and leasing areas of the park to fund infrastructure. Construction of a Grand Chateau in 1929 was a short-lived exercise in elegant tourism, influenced by developments in Canadian and American national park lodges.⁵⁴ According to the investment prospectus, the Chateau would be a 'Mecca of

⁵¹Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore*. p.10.

⁵² Tongariro Park Tourist Company, "Prospectus of the Tongariro Park Company Limited," (1929). p.10.

⁵³ Cowan, *The Tongariro National Park, New Zealand: Its Topography, Geology, Alpine and Volcanic Features, History and Maori Folk-Lore*. p.138.

⁵⁴ Thompson to Wilson, 18 February 1926, TO 1, 52/5, pt.1 cited McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism*. p.134.

Health,' a place of 'invigoration and pleasure,' as well as part of a chain of tourist resorts planned for the North Island.⁵⁵

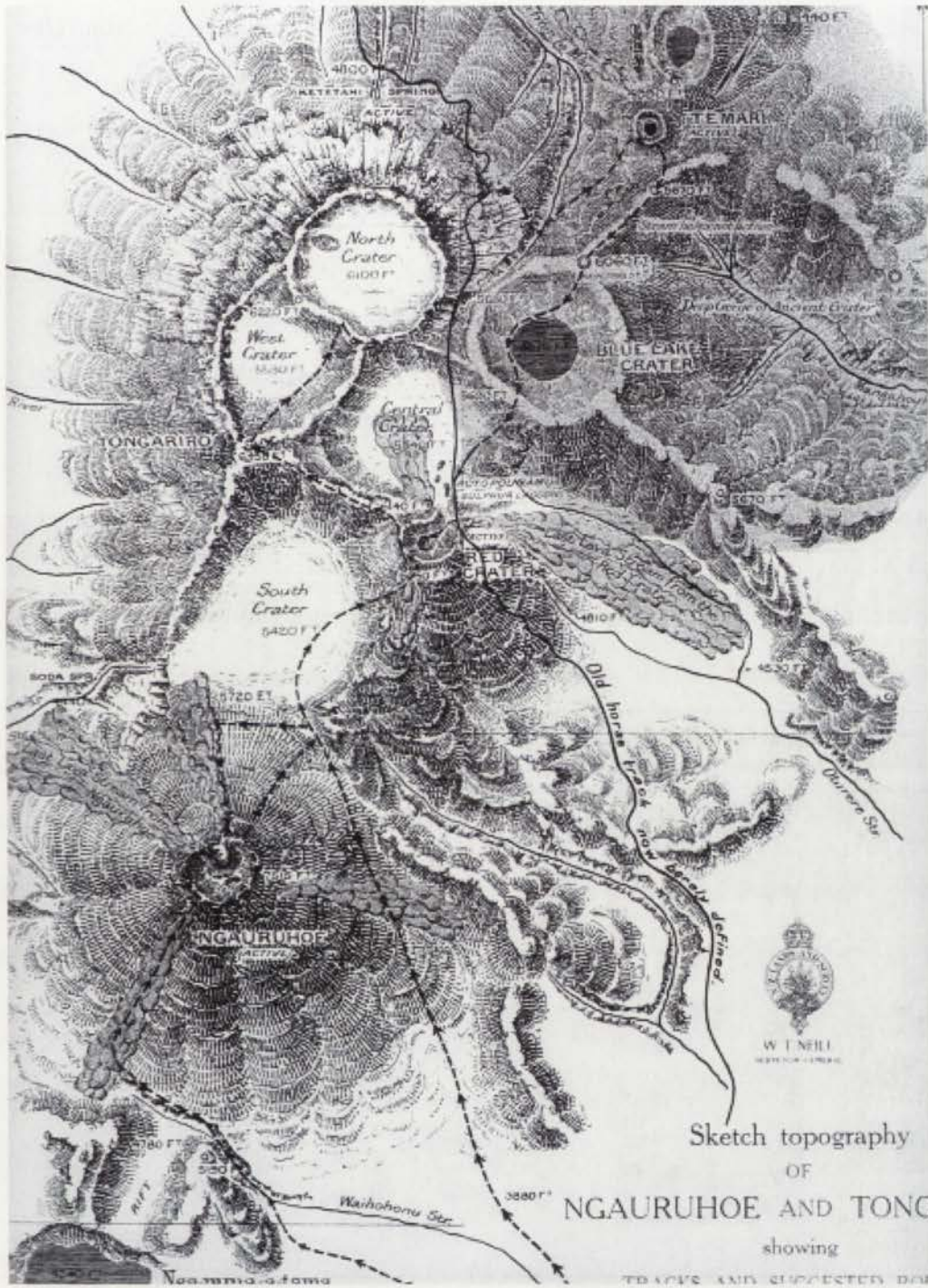


Figure 19 Sketch Map included in James Cowan's 1927 guidebook *The Tongariro National Park*.

Visualising the Landscape

Despite experiencing early financial difficulties, The Chateau emerges as a dominant image of Tongariro National Park in the early 1930s.⁵⁶ Tourist posters from this period depict

⁵⁵ Tongariro Park Tourist Company, "Prospectus of the Tongariro Park Company Limited," (1929). Foreword. p.8.

contrasting representations of the volcanic landscape surrounding the Chateau, ranging from mysterious smoking volcanoes to more benign scenic Alps. The railway poster shown in Figure 20 for example reinforces Tongariro's position as part of the thermal wonders of Rotorua, a representation inclusive of Maori, depicted in front of a steaming cauldron. This connection with the Maori and thermal wonderland of Rotorua was rare. Mirroring Cowan's 1927 guidebook descriptions, the dominant visual representation of the park was of a scenic and recreational wonderland, excluding any reference to Maori.

These representations are clearly evident in the two posters, shown in Figure 21 and Figure 22. The first depicts a picturesque landscape, framing the Chateau against the less obvious volcanic form of Mt Ruapehu. Featuring a foreground of golfers on a manicured cultivated lawn, the poster promotes a form of scenic recreation familiar to the European tourist, with the distant Mt Ruapehu a benign mountainous backdrop. The second poster shows a side view of the Chateau with a smoking Mt Ngauruhoe behind, a representation of the sublime view of the park. The foreground image of a passionate rendezvous between two lovers completes the message that a visit to Tongariro is a mysterious and dangerous encounter.

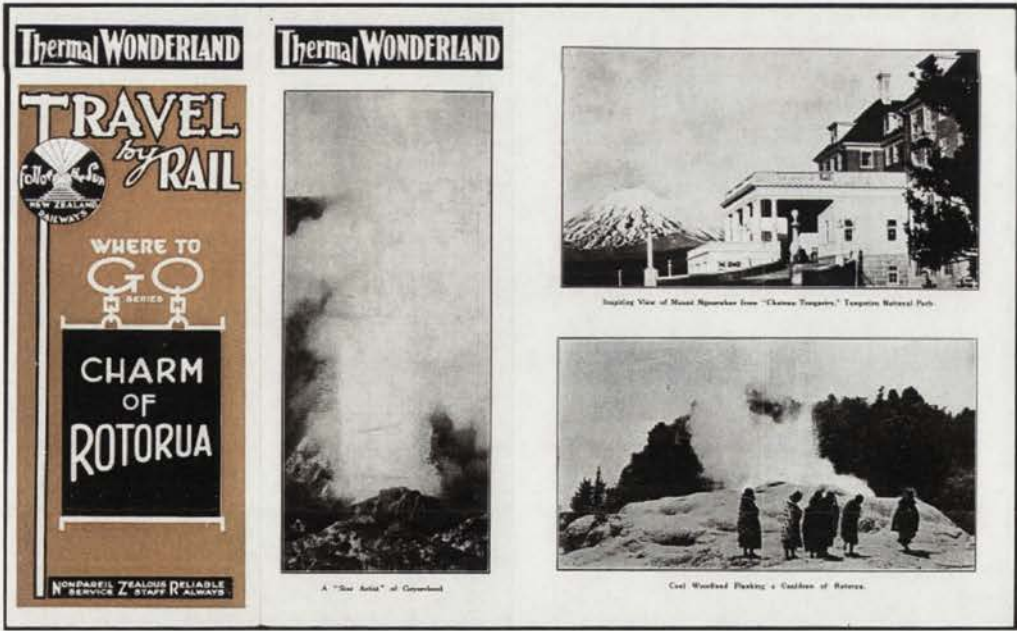


Figure 20 1929 New Zealand Railways: Thermal Wonderland : travel by rail. Where to series; Charm of Rotorua [ATL Eph-A-TOURISM-Rotorua-1929-01]

⁵⁶ Within two years of opening, the Chateau was in financial difficulties, defaulting to the Board, who transferred the title to the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts. The hotel manager assumed responsibility for running both the Chateau and the national park.



Figure 21 (left) Chateau Tongariro National Park [ATL Eph-E-TOURISM-ca-1932-01]
 Figure 22 (right) Tongariro National Park [ATL Eph-A-TOURISM-Tongariro-1930s]



Figure 23 People in a lounge at Chateau Tongariro with Mount Ngauruhoe through the window ca 1930s [ATL 1/1-003889-G]

The photograph in Figure 23 provides an alternative perspective. Although featuring the ‘volcano-like’ Mt Ngauruhoe, the image is a most benign landscape representation. Large feature windows of the Chateau frame the monumental Mt Ngauruhoe as a landscape ‘picture,’ allowing European guests to enjoy a stunning visual backdrop from within the comfortable haven of the Chateau.

The final two posters shown in Figure 24 and Figure 25 introduce a further image which emphasises interaction with the mountainous landscape through skiing. In this case, the advertisements are working to establish an association between the snowy landscape of Tongariro and the already well-known ski-fields of Mt Cook located on the South Island, a connection premised on winter sports and the luxury accommodation offered by the Chateaux at both locations.



Figure 24 (left) New Zealand Railways: Merry Winter Sports at Mount Cook and Tongariro [ATL Eph-A-SKI-1929-01]



Figure 25 (right) Winter sports at Tongariro National Park New Zealand Marcus King [ATL Eph-D-TOURISM-1930s-King-01]

Cowan’s textual descriptions combined with early twentieth century posters and advertisements established a range of tourist expectations for Tongariro National Park. However, unlike the tightly controlled displays of the natural world encountered in the Colonial Museum, these differing representations of the same physical environment

circulated simultaneously. Interventions devised by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts who assumed responsibility for park management in 1914, attempted to realign the physical space of the national park to match a constructed tourist desire.

With the Park Management Board no longer in control, Tongariro's first honorary ranger John Cullen⁵⁷ proposed the transformation of the park into a game hunting ground, recommending the introduction of heath, grouse, woodcock and ptarmigan.⁵⁸ Cullen's vision was supported by the Member of Parliament for Rotorua who suggested the park be further improved by introducing Scotch Thistle, which, as 'the national emblem of Scotsmen... would appeal to a very large number of people in this country.'⁵⁹ By 1915, one hundred acres of heather was sown. Another 30–40,000 acres of heath was planned, along with the introduction of 'grouse and other game birds, and so simulate something of the atmosphere and environment of the Scottish moors.'⁶⁰

Thomas Donne, Superintendent of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, shared Cullen's vision for converting New Zealand into a sporting haven, regardless of the impact on the indigenous environment. A keen hunter and sportsman, Donne believed that the introduction of game was one of the best ways to attract the most adventurous world travellers, and suggested releasing red deer, axis deer and bharal sheep (Tibetan alpine animals) into Tongariro National Park.⁶¹ Cullen and Donne's proposals reflect little regard for the indigenous flora and fauna either as an ecology or aesthetic. Their proposals provide firm evidence of the dominance of tourism in establishing direction for Tongariro in its early years.

An Ecological Awakening

An appreciation of ecology was to emerge slowly, largely instigated by the public users of the park. The most vocal protest to Cullen's desire to blanket the alpine landscape of Tongariro in heath came not from government but from the Tararua Tramping Club and

⁵⁷ John Cullen is considered the first ranger equivalent for Tongariro National Park. Without any formal management of the park, Cullen was able to apply his own vision to the park, aided by his close friendship with Prime Minister W.F. Massey.

⁵⁸ Department of Conservation and Tongariro Natural History Society, *The Restless Land: Stories of Tongariro National Park World Heritage Area*. p.112.

⁵⁹ Hansard, Vol. 198, p. 229, 1922 cited Harris, "Three Parks: An Analysis of the Origins and Evolution of the New Zealand National Park Movement" p. 95.

⁶⁰ John Pascoe, ed., *National Parks of New Zealand*, Third edition ed. (Wellington: Government Printer, 1974). p.48.

⁶¹ McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism*. pp. 55-56.

the Ruapehu Ski Club.⁶² The growing public concern for indigenous flora and fauna shared by conservation groups, scientists familiar with ecology, trampers, farmers and amateur natural history enthusiasts clearly parallels the emergence of ecology within the museum. Its influence on national park management boards, however, was limited. While the declaration of Australian national parks for conservation purposes is evident by the early twentieth century, tourist agendas continued to influence the types of New Zealand national parks declared and subsequent management strategies.

Ecologist Leonard Cockayne was one of the first to draw attention to the uniqueness of New Zealand vegetation.⁶³ In recommending the extension of Tongariro National Park, Cockayne argued that while similar geological features were found elsewhere, it was the link between flora and geography that made New Zealand scenery distinctive. He explained that

the special features of any landscape depend upon the combination of plants which form its garment, otherwise a monotonous uniformity would mark the whole earth. Therefore the more special the vegetation, the more distinctive the scenery. And nowhere does this dictum carry more weight than in New Zealand, where the vegetation is unique...Nor is it merely the individual species which are interesting, but equally important and of greater moment to the scenery is the manner in which they are associated together.⁶⁴

Cockayne argued that extensions to the park should not just consider forest, 'since no area gives an accurate picture of the district...if it does not contain typical examples of all those combinations of species called scientifically "plant associations"'.⁶⁵ Instead, Cockayne proposed an ecological argument for keeping a range of habitats, not just scenic forests, including the previously overlooked tussock, bog, and low shrubs.⁶⁶ Where the botanic garden could preserve individual plants, argued Cockayne, the national park and reserves served as 'natural museums,' preserving plant associations which were of far more importance.⁶⁷ Cockayne's plea for the valuing of landscape from a scientific ecological perspective, as distinct from a visual aesthetic disassociated from the qualities of indigenous flora and fauna, was largely ignored for sixty years. This is particularly surprising in light of the concern over species extinction expressed in the museum. It was not until 1981 that

⁶² David Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004). p.126.

⁶³ Cockayne was influenced by the ecological studies of Danish scientist Eugene Warming.

⁶⁴ Star and Lochhead, "Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant 1880-1930." p. 128.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 130.

ecology was officially adopted as part of the selection criteria for New Zealand national parks.⁶⁸

Conserving the Landscape

The Parliamentary Debates over the Tongariro National Park 1922 Act⁶⁹ provide additional evidence of emerging concern for the indigenous ecology of the park, particularly following Cullen's heath planting intervention. MP Field (Otaki) called for the preservation of 'the purity of our native vegetation,'⁷⁰ while debate over the rights of Maori or anyone to hunt in the park reflected an emerging conservation ethic.⁷¹ The subsequent decision to exclude Maori from hunting demonstrates the conflicting values of European conservation premised on exclusion of human activities, and Maori rights to exercise their customary guardianship or *kaitiakitanga* over the land. Parliamentarians limited the recognition of Maori connections to the production of 'a book illustrated with photographs' detailing Maori legend, as well as the construction of a monument to the 'illustrious chieftain on some portion of the park.'⁷² MP Dr Thacker (Christchurch) also suggested developing a Maori village that would provide 'a Mecca for the young Maori people of this Dominion' to cultivate all the 'old industries.'⁷³ Thacker's proposal was not motivated by concern for the continuity of Maori culture, but instead aimed to increase tourist income encouraged by the popularity of Maori tourism at nearby Rotorua.⁷⁴

None of these schemes eventuated. The newly reformed Park Board, inclusive of Maori representation,⁷⁵ continued the park's development as a winter and summer playground, approving tourist infrastructure for skiing on Mt Ruapehu including huts for ski-clubs, improved road access and camping grounds. It was left to conservation groups, tramping clubs, artists and writers to champion the protection of indigenous flora and fauna. The Zealand Forest and Bird Protection Society, established in 1914 and considered the first conservation organisation with national constituency, together with the New Zealand

⁶⁸ Thom, *Heritage: The Parks of the People*. p.5.

⁶⁹ The Act sought to reconstitute the Tongariro National Park Board.

⁷⁰ Mr Field, "Tongariro National Park Bill," in *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, (Wellington: 1922). p. 231.

⁷¹ Mr Glenn, *Ibid.* p. 229.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 233.

⁷³ Dr Thacker, pp. 238-239. *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 239.

⁷⁵ The Board consisted of the mayors of Auckland and Wellington, the Warden of the Park (John Cullen), the Under Secretary for Lands, the General Manager of Tourist and Health Resorts, the Secretary of the State Forest Service, the President of the New Zealand Institute, four members appointed by the Governor-General; as well as the paramount chief of the Ngati Tuwharetoa.

Forestry League formed two years later, were major advocates for national parks remaining in a natural state, free from introduced plants and animals.⁷⁶

In contrast, by the turn of the century it was evident that the declaration of Australian national parks was an explicit act of conservation. Tamborine National Park, Queensland's first, originated from the actions of farmers and the Tamborine Shire Council⁷⁷ who petitioned the government to save more than 300 acres of rainforest and called for 'the preservation of the flora and fauna, as owing to the way the land in the vicinity is being cleared it would seem that in the near future such an action would prove its necessity.'⁷⁸

Declaration of Lamington National Park in 1915, another Queensland rainforest national park, also emerged from a public petition that stressed the protection of rare flora and fauna, particularly lyrebirds and Antarctic beech, the outstanding scenery and the environmental damage of forest clearance.⁷⁹ Given the high value of rainforest land for agriculture, these early Queensland national parks were watershed events, clearly reflecting a move from 'scenic preservation' to conservation. As historian Warwick Frost argues, 'policy makers consciously chose to create national parks at the expense of such traditional economic development.'⁸⁰ Declaration of Wilsons Promontory and the Dandenong Ranges as Victorian national parks in the late 1890s provides further evidence of spreading conservation agendas promoted by natural history organisations and scientific societies, as well as voices such as the Melbourne newspaper *The Argus*, and National Museum Director Baldwin Spencer.⁸¹

These conservation motivations clearly differ from the early years of Tongariro National Park where tourism agendas dominated the park's development. Although the physical space of Tongariro altered minimally during this period, the 'concept' of the landscape, disseminated through guidebooks and tourist advertisements was revised. Significantly, the park was no longer fore-grounded as a Maori cultural landscape but instead championed for its extraordinary catalogue of landscape features. This representation was further altered when New Zealand national parks became implicated in an emerging twentieth-century

⁷⁶ Star and Lochhead, "Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant 1880-1930." pp.130-31.

⁷⁷ Warwick Frost, "Tourism, Rainforest and Worthless Lands: The Origins of National Parks in Queensland," *Tourism Geographies* 6, no. 4 (2004). pp.499-500.

⁷⁸ A. Groom *One Mountain after Another* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson) 1949 p.66. cited Ibid. p.500.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 502.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 495.

⁸¹ For discussion on early Victorian parks see Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000), Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

nationalism, that was not only influential in transforming Tongariro into a nationalistic wilderness, but also acted as a catalyst for the formation of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park.

Nationalistic Wilderness

On 1 January 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia was formed, and New Zealand was no longer considered part of the seven Australasian colonies. Six years later on 26 September 1907 New Zealand acquired the status of Dominion, a self-governing nation. An emerging sense of national identity accompanied these declarations, aided by 'native'-born settlers and the assumed assimilation of indigenous peoples into the dominant colonial society. Landscape qualities emerged as major reference points for developing national and individual distinctiveness. Where a distinctive national character such as the Australian bushman or the New Zealand 'pioneer-become-farmer' had emerged through the experience of *transforming* the landscape,⁸² specific landscape types now emerged as symbols of each nation, adopted as 'forces of moral and spiritual regeneration capable of determining the nation and giving it a compact, homogeneous, unified form.'⁸³ In New Zealand the mountain became the national icon; in Australia, the desert.

While the acceptance of the New Zealand mountain as a national icon reflects the re-invention of the prized nineteenth-century picturesque mountain, the recognition of the Australian desert as a national landscape presents a major departure from an earlier nineteenth-century emphasis on bush pastoralism. This revision has drawn attention from a range of disciplines including art history, film and cultural studies, history and anthropology.⁸⁴ This study offers an alternative understanding of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park by examining its evolution as both physical and representational space. Drawing on historical analysis offered by Breedon, Gibson, Hill, Harney and Layton,⁸⁵

⁸² Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein-Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). p.83.

⁸³ Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer, "In Search of the Authentic Nation: Landscape and National Identity in Canada and Switzerland," *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 4 (1998). p.487.

⁸⁴ See J.M. Arthur, *The Default Country: A Lexical Cartography of Twentieth-Century Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), Michael Cathcart, "Uluru," in *Words for Country*, ed. Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), Bruce Clunies Ross, "Landscape and the Australian Imagination," in *Mapped but Not Known: The Australian Landscape of the Imagination*, ed. P.R Eaden and F.H.Mares (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1985), Roslynn D. Haynes, *Seeking the Centre: The Australian Desert in Literature, Art and Film* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998). Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape Was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2005).

⁸⁵ Stanley Breedon, *Uluru: Looking after Uluru-Kata Tjuta the Anangu Way* (East Roseville: Simon and Schuster, 1994), Suzanne Gibson, "'This Rock Is Sacred' the Northern Territory Government and the Handback of Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park" (Graduate Diploma of Arts (History), Northern Territory University, 1994), W.E. Harney,

together with journals such as *Walkabout* magazine and archival photographic images, I establish the motivations for and characteristics of the park's development.

While Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park and Tongariro National Park were reconceptualised contemporaneously as wilderness, the construction of relationships between landscape, tourist experience and indigenous peoples within these spaces contrasted markedly. An experience of the desert wilderness of Ayers Rock was tightly interwoven with an encounter with Aboriginal Australia, creating the unique but not incongruous notion of a 'peopled' wilderness. The evolutionary positioning of indigenous people within the museum provides a clear rationale for this development. Specifically, the 'unbridgeable' temporal gap between Aboriginal Australians and Europeans positioned Aboriginal people as ancient and primitive as the landscape itself and allowed the desert to be simultaneously prized as wilderness yet occupied. In contrast, the closer affiliation of Maori and European culture required the removal of *all* cultural connections to landscape in order to reinvent the park as untainted nature.

These constructions shaped management strategies and subsequent tourist experiences. A visit to Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park was a carefully-scripted visual encounter with a primitive landscape and its inhabitants, providing an experience more aligned with the anthropological space of the museum than the recreational opportunities and scenic qualities associated with Tongariro National Park. Within this later space, landscape was reinvented into classifications of 'wilderness', 'natural environment' and 'facility area', which together offered multiple tourist experiences including skiing, tramping, climbing, picnicking and camping.

A Peopled Wilderness

The acceptance of the desert landscape of Ayers Rock as worthy of national park status reflects a complex revision of science (anthropology), nationalism and aesthetics, all of which converged to elevate nineteenth-century perceptions of the harsh desert interior to that of inspirational iconic landscape. Representations disseminated in photographs, poetry, museum exhibits, guidebooks, journals and paintings, rather than direct experience, introduced the remote desert landscape to coastal-dwelling Australians. The projected tourist encounter was of an authentic Australian space, offering an experience of an ancient

To Ayers Rock and Beyond (Adelaide: Rigby, 1963), Barry Hill, *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994), Robert Layton, *Uluru, an Aboriginal History of Ayers Rock* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1986).

landscape *and* its primitive desert dwellers. The formation of the national park in 1958, however, established a major contradiction, namely the adoption of a concept premised on an uninhabited landscape for a place deemed significant for its Aboriginal occupation.

The desert landscape of Ayers Rock forms part of the desert homelands of the Pitjantjatjara and Yankuntjatjara people who referred to the giant monolith as Uluru. The first European sighting of Uluru is credited to explorer William Gosse in 1873 who considered it ‘the most wonderful natural feature I have ever seen,’ and promptly renamed it Ayers Rock after then-premier and chief secretary of South Australia.⁸⁶ His journal entry stated:

The hill, as I approached, presented a most peculiar appearance, the upper portion being covered with holes or caves. When I got clear of the sandhills, and was only two miles distant, and the hill for the first time coming fairly into view, what was my astonishment to find it one immense rock rising abruptly from the plain...⁸⁷

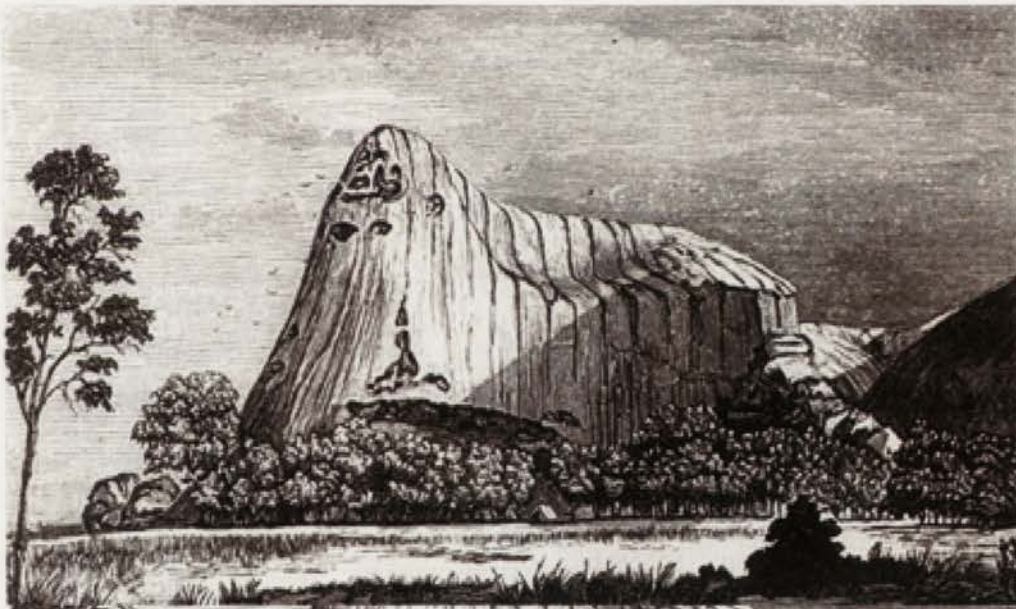


Figure 26 Illustration of Ayers Rock, Central Australia first published in South Australian Parliamentary Paper No.48 of 1874 titled “W.C. Gosse’s Explorations, 1873.” [SLSA - B3674]

Gosse’s descriptions and sketches, one of which informed the etching shown in Figure 26 brought the unusually-shaped monolith to the attention of Europeans. The traditional owners had remained largely isolated from European contact, apart from occasional visits by doggers, scientists and prospectors, until the turn of the century when anthropological interest in the desert and its Aboriginal inhabitants rose. Baldwin Spencer, Director of the

⁸⁶ Hill, *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru*. p.65.

⁸⁷ W.C. Gosse *Report and Diary of Mr W.C. Gosse’s Central and Western Exploring Expedition, 1873* (Adelaide: South Australian Government Printer, 1874) cited Breedon, *Uluru: Looking after Uluru-Kata Tjuta the Anangu Way*. pp.125-126.

National Museum of Victoria, was scientist and photographer on the 1894 Horne Expedition, acknowledged as the first scientific expedition into Central Australia. This expedition aimed to document the last living representatives of the Stone Age in an accurate and detached scientific manner, demonstrating the prevailing view that the central Australian Aborigine was doomed.

Documenting the Landscape

Photography was integral to recording the vanishing culture, and was viewed as more accurate than earlier visual methods such as drawings and engravings, all of which were now considered ‘interpretations of what had been seen rather than empirical proof.’⁸⁸ Spencer is credited with taking the ‘first full view’ photograph of Ayers Rock in 1894, describing the Rock in the expedition report as ‘probably one of the most striking objects in Central Australia.’⁸⁹ Nomination of Ayers Rock as an ‘object’ rather than land form, landscape or monolith says much about Spencer’s ‘neutral’ scientific eye. His photograph, shown in Figure 27, unlike Gosse’s etching, lacks any attempt to construct a picturesque composition. Spencer sought to document the rock in its entirety. This view of the rock, combined with artefacts collected on the desert expedition and consequently exhibited in Spencer’s National Museum of Victoria, introduced the predominately urban population to this peculiar landscape and its ancient inhabitants.

Anthropology had far more impact on the traditional owners than simply documenting the status quo. Scientists such as Spencer were influential in formulating government policies for the assimilation of Aboriginal people into European society, policies that assumed that half-caste Aboriginal people, according to the developmental stages of evolution, were able to be ‘fully developed’ and assimilated into white society. Considered beyond change, full-blood Aboriginal people were relegated to Aboriginal reserves to protect them from the detrimental effect of white contact. These reserves were of great interest to anthropologists who considered them as outdoor laboratories or ‘living museums.’⁹⁰ In 1920 the landscape surrounding Ayers Rock and its traditional owners were subsumed into such a reserve, named the Petermann Reserve, a vast tract of land in the south west corner of the

⁸⁸ Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). p.89.

⁸⁹ Hill, *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru*. p.75.

⁹⁰ Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism, Museum Meanings* (London: Routledge, 2003). p.155.

Northern Territory.⁹¹ Many Aboriginal people left, relocating to cattle stations or Alice Springs and by 1939 only 50-60 people remained.⁹²

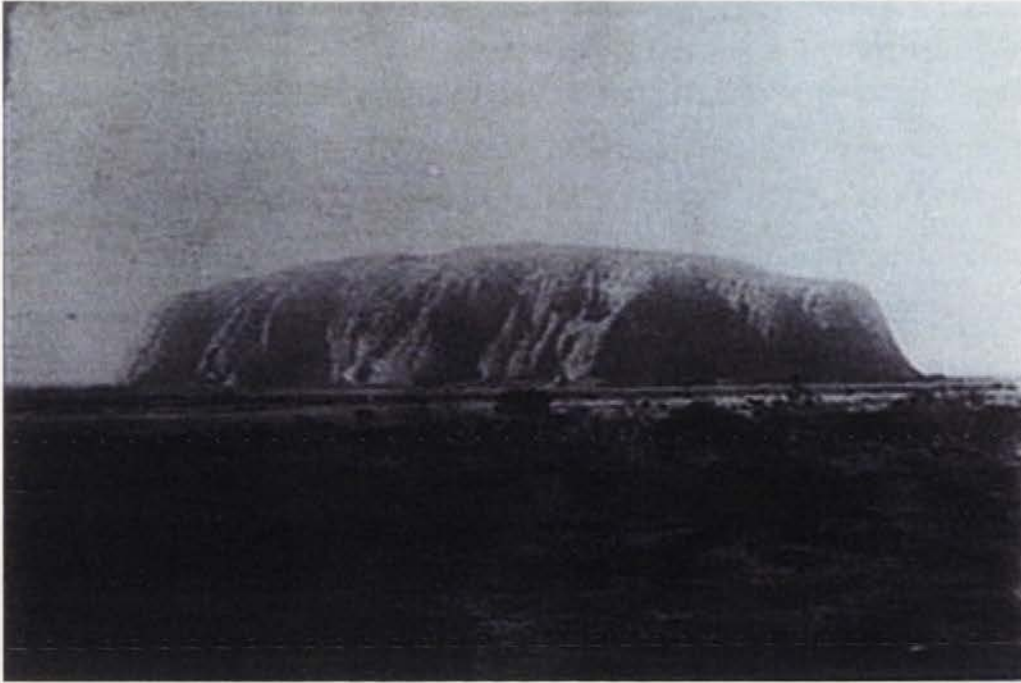


Figure 27 Ayers Rock: 5 miles North – taken during the Horne Expedition 1894. [SLSA-B 47741]

The recasting of the desert into a place of significance for non-indigenous Australians shattered this isolation. Fascination with the aesthetic and poetic qualities of the desert landscape was fuelled by the desert campaigns of World War I. Images of Australian troops fighting in the Middle East introduced a new perception of the desert landscape. Popularity of paintings depicting a foreign desert, claims historian Roslynne D. Haynes, 'already sanctified by their religious and historical context and now claimed for specifically Australian reverence, obviously paved the way for representations of Australian aridity.'⁹³ Considered the antithesis of pastoral prosperity, the desert landscape and its Aboriginal occupants provided an inspirational landscape image for artists and writers. The Jindyworobak Club used poetry worthy of Wordsworth to present the desert as a romantic and mystical landscape.⁹⁴ Founded by Adelaide poet Rex Ingamells in 1938, the Club proposed that 'a distinctly Australian culture would emerge as disjunctions between the natural environment and the cultural conventions from Europe were recognised and resolved.'⁹⁵ The desert represented just such a disjuncture, encompassing Aboriginal

⁹¹ Northern Territory Annual Report 1938, p. 22 cited Layton, *Uluru, an Aboriginal History of Ayers Rock*. p. 73.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 74.

⁹³ Haynes, *Seeking the Centre*. p. 163.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 267-268.

⁹⁵ Clunies Ross, "Landscape and the Australian Imagination." p. 232.

Dreamtime⁹⁶ as well as distinctive elements of the Australian environment of the dust, the sun, and the red earth, attributes previously considered hostile to European settlement.⁹⁷

Promoting the Landscape

Anthropology, nationalism, art and literature combined to dramatically reinvent the desert as a quintessential modern 'Australian' space. But unlike New Zealand's mountains, the desert remained remote from the majority of urban and coastal dwelling Australians. Representations of the desert, promoted by travel writing, literature, painting and the exhibitions within the museum, rather than a direct experience of the desert, were central in introducing the desert to European Australians. By the early 1940s, descriptions of travels into the desert landscape emerged in popular magazines such as *Walkabout*. One of the earliest articles by Frank Clune presented Ayers Rock as the new centre of Australia and the 'Red Heart of the Continent.'⁹⁸ Although claiming Ayers Rock as a white man's symbol, Clune's position relied on a construction of 'deep Aboriginality,' describing the rock as 'one of the last remaining sanctuaries where, unmolested by civilization, the aboriginal tribes may live and hunt in the fashion of their forefathers since the Dawn of Time.'⁹⁹ Clune's article described the climbing of the rock, which he considered to be following the footsteps of explorer Gosse, adding his name 'to the exclusive list' located in Gosse's Cairn erected on the dome.¹⁰⁰

Further images and articles followed in *Walkabout*. An aerial view of Ayers Rock showing Mt Olga in the background was published across two pages in 1946, followed in 1947 by W. Charney's article 'The Antiquity of the Aboriginal', which stressed the primitiveness of the desert aboriginal who Charney deemed to be in the 'last stages in malnutrition.'¹⁰¹ An encounter with Aboriginal Australia, a population still considered in danger of extinction, was therefore tightly woven into the encounter with desert landscape.

Promotion of the desert through journals such as *Walkabout*, combined with improvement in transportation increased demand for a first hand experience of the desert. Completion of

⁹⁶ Dreamtime refers to an indigenous understanding of time, spirituality and beliefs that encompasses the past, present and the future. The expression is traced to anthropologists Spencer and Gillen and their work with Arrernte people of central Australia.

⁹⁷ Clunies Ross, "Landscape and the Australian Imagination." p. 233.

⁹⁸ Frank Clune, "Ayer's Rock (Said to Be the Largest Rock in the World)," *Walkabout* October (1941). p.11.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.15

¹⁰¹ W. Charney, "The Antiquity of the Aboriginal," *Walkabout* February (1947). p.29.

the first road in 1948 signalled the beginning of tourism.¹⁰² Commercially organised tours commenced in 1950, the first run out of Alice Springs by Len Tuit. Tourists were all required to have permits to visit what was still considered an Aboriginal reserve, leading enterprising tour operators to lobby the Northern Territory government for more public access.¹⁰³ Tuit sought permission to establish a tourist camp near Kapi Mutijula, prompting the government to investigate the tourist potential of Ayers Rock.¹⁰⁴ In 1957, the Native Welfare Branch of the Department of the Interior appointed Bill Harney as the first 'curator' for the area, responsible for enforcing permit conditions.¹⁰⁵

A year later, 126,000 hectares of land was excised from the Petermann Reserve to form Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park. This new park was to be managed by the newly-formed Northern Territory Reserves Board, while Bill Harney remained as the park's first ranger until 1962. Declaration of the national park, however, required the removal of an Aboriginal presence. Paradoxically, an encounter with Aboriginal people was central to the tourist desire to visit the park, and to the mental construction of a desert wilderness. This revised legislative definition of the land from Aboriginal reserve to national park established a major contradiction: the declaration of a 'national park commonly assumed to be unoccupied on a landscape deemed significant for its Aboriginal occupation. This was in direct contrast to the New Zealand situation where the acceptance of Tongariro as a mountainous wilderness had further denied the park's significance as a Maori cultural landscape and reinvented parts of it as pristine wilderness.

Quantifying Wilderness

As noted earlier, the 'mountain' had become synonymous with 'New Zealandness,' a national symbol as well as a place of inspirational encounter. Government agendas for civil reform, emerging nationalism, and growing appreciation for the indigenous environment contributed to reframing the mountain as nationalistic wilderness and not merely a place of scenic grandeur. This revaluing of the mountainous encounter shares many similarities with the civic reform agendas of the early twentieth-century museum. Both promoted an

¹⁰² Kurt Johannsen drove the first tourists to the Rock in 1936.

¹⁰³ Parks Australia, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Infrastructure Master Plan (Draft)," (Canberra: Parks Australia, 2000).pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ These included restricting camping to no closer than one and half miles from Ayers Rock or the Olgas; a ban on cutting down trees within three miles of the monoliths and ensuring that water from water holes was only to be used for drinking.

engagement with local nature as a means for creating a stronger sense of citizenship – the museum through *knowledge* of ecology, the national park through physical *experience*.

The New Zealand government was influential in promoting the recreational opportunities offered by mountains as a means for reinvigorating public morale diminished in the aftermath of the Depression.¹⁰⁶ Back-country tramping and mountaineering were considered ‘cheap and companionable’ opportunities for ‘wholesome and healthy activity,’ as well as valuable in the development of self reliance and resilience.¹⁰⁷ Ecologist Leonard Cockayne had championed the ‘physical and moral training’ offered by mountainous encounters as early as 1901, claiming them ‘a source of perfect health for those that visit them.’¹⁰⁸ While the sport of mountaineering had emerged in the nineteenth century, Lee Davidson observes it was not until ‘the inter-war period, with its prevailing sense of disillusionment and restlessness’ that young New Zealanders became attracted to the activity, motivated to ‘see this country through their own eyes.’¹⁰⁹ This interest was supported by government, which, in the mid 1930s and concerned with the looming World War II and the need to commit to troops, considered physical recreation a critical component of military effectiveness.¹¹⁰

A Wilderness Encounter

Journals such as *Wanderlust*, published throughout the 1930s, reinforced the value of the mountain encounter. The first issue featured an image of Mt Cook on its cover (Figure 28), as well as an extensive article by Malcolm Ross describing early attempts to climb the Southern Alps.¹¹¹ Ross’ article stressed the ‘trials of strength and endurance, patience and perseverance of the earliest New Zealand Alpinists,’ reinforced by numerous photos of New Zealand mountaineers such as those depicted in Figure 29.¹¹² A portrayal of the heroic mountaineer was consistent with the image of the New Zealander as self-sufficient and resourceful, attributes that extended into the national character. New Zealander Edmund Hillary’s ascent of Mt Everest in 1953, undertaken as part of a British climbing expedition

¹⁰⁶ Lee Davidson, "The 'Spirit of the Hills': Mountaineering in the Northwest Otago, New Zealand, 1882-1940," *Tourism Geographies* 4, no. 1 (2002). p.53.

¹⁰⁷ W.Parry Letter from the Minister of Internal Affairs to the secretary of the Federated Mountains Club, 5 April 1940, FMC Archives, MS 4030/41, Alexander Turnbull Library cited Ibid. p. 53.

¹⁰⁸ Eric Pawson, "The Meanings of Mountains," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002). p.143.

¹⁰⁹ Davidson, "The 'Spirit of the Hills': Mountaineering in the Northwest Otago, New Zealand, 1882-1940." p.47.

¹¹⁰ NZPD, 1937, Vol. 249 cited John Schultis, "Natural Environments, Wilderness and Protected Areas: An Analysis of Historical Western Attitudes and Utilisation and Their Expression in Contemporary New Zealand" (Doctor of Philosophy, University of Otago, 1991). p. 422.

¹¹¹ Malcolm Ross, "The Climbers: A Brief History of the Conquest of the Grand Old Man of the Southern Alps-Mount Cook," *Wanderlust Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1930).

¹¹² Malcolm Ross, "The Climbers Part Two," *Wanderlust Magazine* 1, no. 2 (1930). p.1.

further reinforced this image.¹¹³ An escape to the mountains offered a continuation of the earlier pioneering experience that was fast diminishing, providing a counterbalance to the modern New Zealand industrial society characterised by growing urban populations and government bureaucracy.¹¹⁴



Figure 28 (left) Cover of *Wanderlust Magazine* featuring Mt Cook, Vol.1, 1930.

Figure 29 (right) 'The Climbers,' *Wanderlust Magazine*, Vol. 1. 1930.

The valuing of the mountain as wilderness encounter did little to increase the acceptance of conservation-driven agendas within the New Zealand national park system. Eric Pawson comments '[t]o a considerable extent the mountains of New Zealand have become known through the icons of the national park system, just as New Zealand itself is often known through its national parks.'¹¹⁵ By the 1950s, two more mountainous national parks had been declared—Arthurs Pass in 1929 and Fiordland in 1952—while more threatened landscapes such as wetlands and tussock grasslands remained unprotected.

Coordinated management strategies accompanied this growth in a mountainous national park system influenced by the US National Park System. Links between New Zealand and American national parks had emerged during the 1930s and 1940s, and Lance McCaskill, a major national park reformer, travelled to the United States in 1939 to meet with Aldo Leopold and other park managers to discuss the management of protected areas and

¹¹³ Davidson, "The 'Spirit of the Hills': Mountaineering in the Northwest Otago, New Zealand, 1882-1940." p. 44, p.50.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. pp.54-55.

¹¹⁵ Pawson, "The Meanings of Mountains." p. 150.

wilderness.¹¹⁶ In 1949 the president of the American Wilderness Society, Dr Olaus Murie, had visited New Zealand and introduced concepts of wilderness management during talks to Auckland and Christchurch branches of the Geographic Society.¹¹⁷

Land Use Classification

The Federated Mountain Clubs (FMC), created in 1931, formed a powerful lobby group for better park management. Comprised of a collection of twenty mountaineering and tramping clubs, the Federation called for New Zealand national parks to be managed in accordance with North American principles, adopting the slogan 'The national parks for the people.'¹¹⁸ By the mid twentieth century, two new planning agendas were evident: the strengthening of the national park as an institution supported by national legislation and a national authority, and the adoption of land use planning based on a scientific classification of landscape 'types.'

The passing of the National Parks Act 1952 was a major turning point, the first time that agendas for national parks were formalised within legislation.¹¹⁹ In a continuation of nineteenth century attitudes, scenic preservation and recreation remained central to the Act.¹²⁰ National parks were defined 'for the benefit and enjoyment of the public areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive quality or natural features so beautiful or unique that their preservation is in the national interest.' The Act also provided for free entry for the public 'so that they may receive in full measure that inspiration, enjoyment, recreation and other benefits that may be derived from mountains, forests, sounds, lakes and rivers.'

Significantly, the legislation included provision for the formal delineation of 'wilderness areas,' defined as those to 'be kept and maintained in a state of nature' prohibiting the construction of buildings, ski tows, roads, tracks or trails except for necessary foot tracks, while no horses or other animals or vehicles would be allowed within the area.¹²¹ This definition was derived from American Aldo Leopold's operational definition of wilderness, first proposed in 1921. According to Leopold, 'land units' of wilderness were defined as 'a

¹¹⁶ John Shultis, "The Duality of Wilderness: Comparing Popular and Political Conceptions of Wilderness in New Zealand," *Society and Natural Resources* 12 (1999). p. 392.

¹¹⁷ Schultis, "Natural Environments, Wilderness and Protected Areas: An Analysis of Historical Western Attitudes and Utilisation and Their Expression in Contemporary New Zealand". p.184.

¹¹⁸ Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand*. p. 128.

¹¹⁹ For a detailed history on the formation of the Act see Jane Thomson, *Origins of the 1952 National Park Act, National Parks Series 1975/1* (Wellington: Department of Lands and Survey for the National Parks Authority, 1976).

¹²⁰ National Parks Act (New Zealand Statutes 1952)

¹²¹ National Parks Act (New Zealand Statutes 1952)

continuous stretch of country preserved in its natural state big enough to absorb a two week pack trip, and kept devoid of roads, artificial trails, cottages, or other works of man, with a minimum area of 500,000 acres.¹²²

The formation of New Zealand's first National Park Authority paralleled the passing of the National Parks Act, a development that predated any similar authority in Australia by twenty three years. Membership of the authority included conservation reformers, tourism and Department of Lands and Forest management.¹²³ Maori representation was notably absent, lacking representation or acknowledgement in the National Park Act, the National Park Authority and all Management Boards, apart from Tongariro.¹²⁴ While Maori continued to have presence on the Tongariro Board, Geoff Park in his analysis of the Board's annual reports observes 'not a single instance...of Maori concerns or values being mentioned, nor any evidence of the Tuwharetoa representative influencing the board in any significant fashion.'¹²⁵

'Planning' of the national parks aimed to balance the increasingly conflicting demands of scenic preservation, active recreation, wilderness and conservation. Rational management strategies evolved from the careful analysis of natural resource information and visitor usage, the first proposed for Tongariro National Park in 1964.¹²⁶ Known as Plan 72, the strategy outlined land zonings of wilderness, natural environment and development areas, as well as nominating areas of biological and geological interest.¹²⁷ Hauhungatahi and Te Tatau Pounamu were gazetted as wilderness areas, defined as places where trampers could experience qualities of remoteness, self-reliance and solitude, in contrast to the increasingly crowded ski fields of Mt Ruapehu.¹²⁸

¹²² B.G Mackey et al., "The Role of Wilderness in Nature Conservation," in *A report to the Australian and World Heritage Group, Environment Australia* (Canberra: The School of Resource Management and Environmental Science, 1998). p.8.

¹²³ The committee comprised chairman David Greig (Director-General of Lands); Deputy Chairman L. Avann (Assistant Director-General of Lands); Arthur Harper and Lance McCaskill (park reformers); Alex Entrican (Director-General of Forests) and R.W. Marshall (General Manager of the Department of Tourism and Publicity). The authority was charged with the administration of over thirteen hundred scenic reserves and the national parks of Tongariro, Egmont, Abel Tasman, Arthur Pass, and Sounds (Fiordland).

¹²⁴ Thom, *Heritage: The Parks of the People*. p. 339.

¹²⁵ Geoff Park, "Effective Exclusion?: An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna 1912-1983," (Wellington, N.Z.: Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). p. 340.

¹²⁶ W.A Robertson, *A Guide to a Planning Process for National Parks* (Wellington: Department of Lands and Survey, 1972). p.10.

¹²⁷ Plan 72 covers from 1964-1972. The term Plan 72 has its origins in the Mission 66 programme of the US National Park Service, which provided new management directions for American national parks, and offers further evidence of the strong links between the US and New Zealand National Park Services.

¹²⁸ Tongariro National Park Board, "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Tongariro National Park," (Wellington: Lands and Survey Department, 1964).

Although they were given Maori names, these wilderness zones were premised on the erasure of all evidence of human occupation. As I have already noted this reflects a significant difference from the definition used for the desert wilderness of Ayers Rock, which accommodated the Aboriginal presence. As Chapter One showed, the evolutionary positioning of indigenous people within the museum established an ‘unbridgeable’ temporal gap between Aboriginal Australians and Europeans, which conceived of Aboriginal people as a people as ancient and primitive as the landscape itself and thereby defining them as an intrinsic part of wilderness. Conversely, the closer association between Maori and European culture demonstrated by the adoption and celebration of Maori culture as a valid precursor to European New Zealand history, created a closer temporal relationship to European culture. As a consequence, achieving the concept of wilderness as promoted by American national park ideals, required the removal of all evidence of human occupation (Maori and European) in order to present the landscape as unoccupied nature, leaving the ‘gift story’ as the only reminder of Maori connections.

Cowan’s earlier ‘catalogue’ of landscape features including steaming craters, sulphurous pits, glaciers, snow-fields, waterfalls, rocky pinnacles, forests, wild fern gardens and mountain meadows were now delineated by classification as ‘special’, ‘wilderness’, ‘natural environment’ and ‘facility area’, as shown in the management plan, Figure 30.

Although influenced by American management strategies, New Zealand national parks did not embrace the educational and interpretational agendas of nature guiding, museums and interpretative centres that had been a feature of American national parks since the early twentieth century. A lack of funds and rangers offers a partial explanation; however there is evidence to suggest a philosophical resistance to promoting the park as an educational experience.¹²⁹ For example, on his return from a 1970 study tour of national parks in Canada and the United States, P.H.C. Lucas, then Director of National Parks and Reserves advocated a more coordinated interpretation strategy, stating ‘New Zealand should not underestimate the seemingly insatiable interest of visitors in looking beyond the scenery to an understanding of its meaning.’¹³⁰

¹²⁹ By 1953 only five rangers were employed, one for each park. This number increased to 38 by 1964. The first illustrated talk was given at Arthur’s Pass National Park in 1954, followed a year later by the construction of the first visitor centre.

¹³⁰ P.H.C. Lucas, *Conserving New Zealand’s Heritage: Report on a Study Tour of National Park and Allied Areas in Canada and the United States* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1970). p. 40.

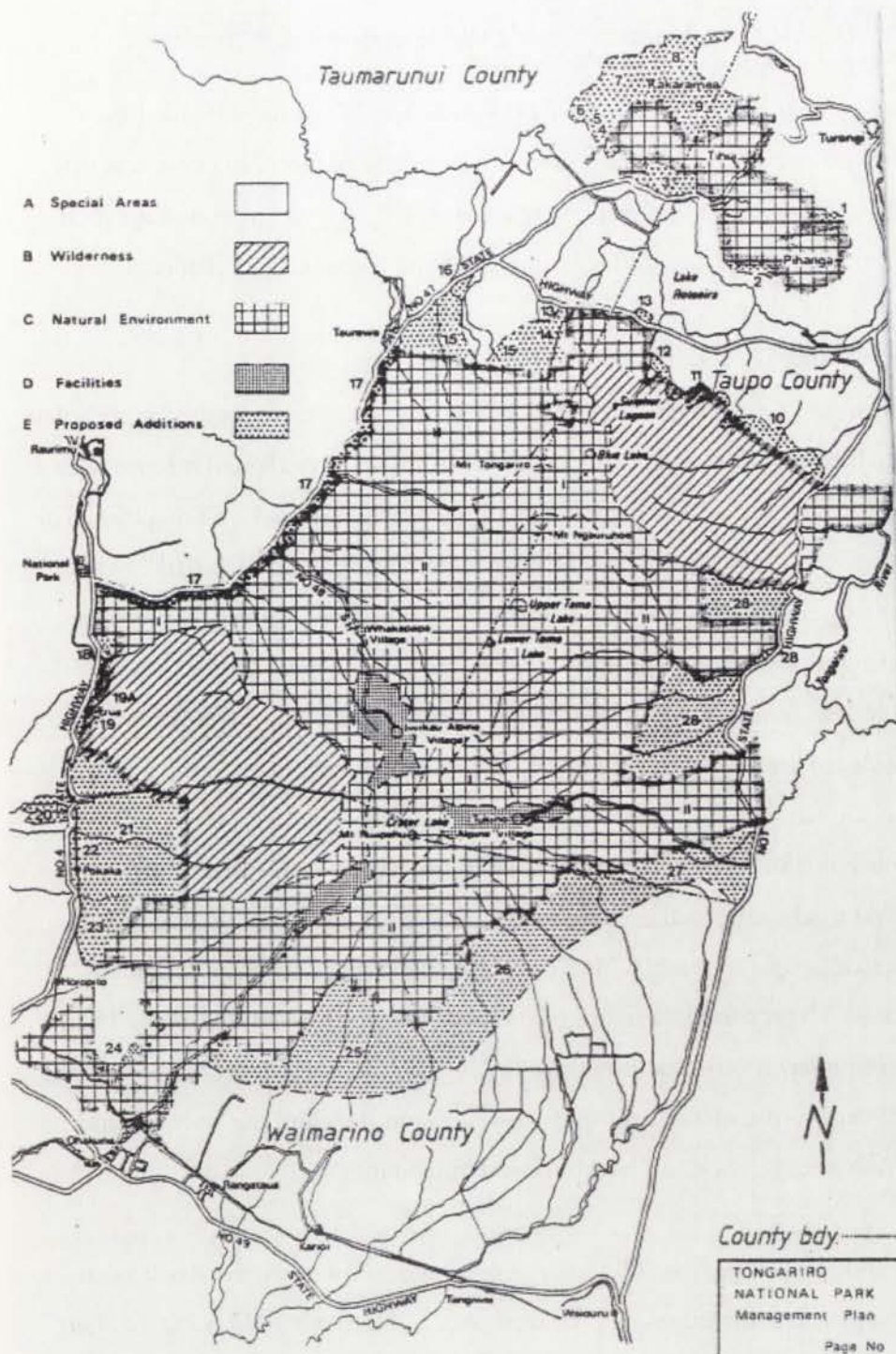


Figure 30 Tongariro National Park Management Plan indicating land use classifications. (Tongariro National Park Management Plan 1977)

This position drew the following response from Chairman of the Tongariro National Park Board V.P. McGlone:

...I believe it is possible to receive in full measure the inspiration, enjoyment and recreation that may be derived from the mountains, forests and lakes of Tongariro

National Park without being bombarded with botanical appellations, lectured on geology, taken for walks, or shown stuffed birds.¹³¹

Unlike the educational experience promoted by the museum, McGlone defended the national park as an un-narrated encounter between visitor and nature. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the designated wilderness areas which were championed for their ability to provide visitors with a sense of solitude, freedom, romance and challenge.

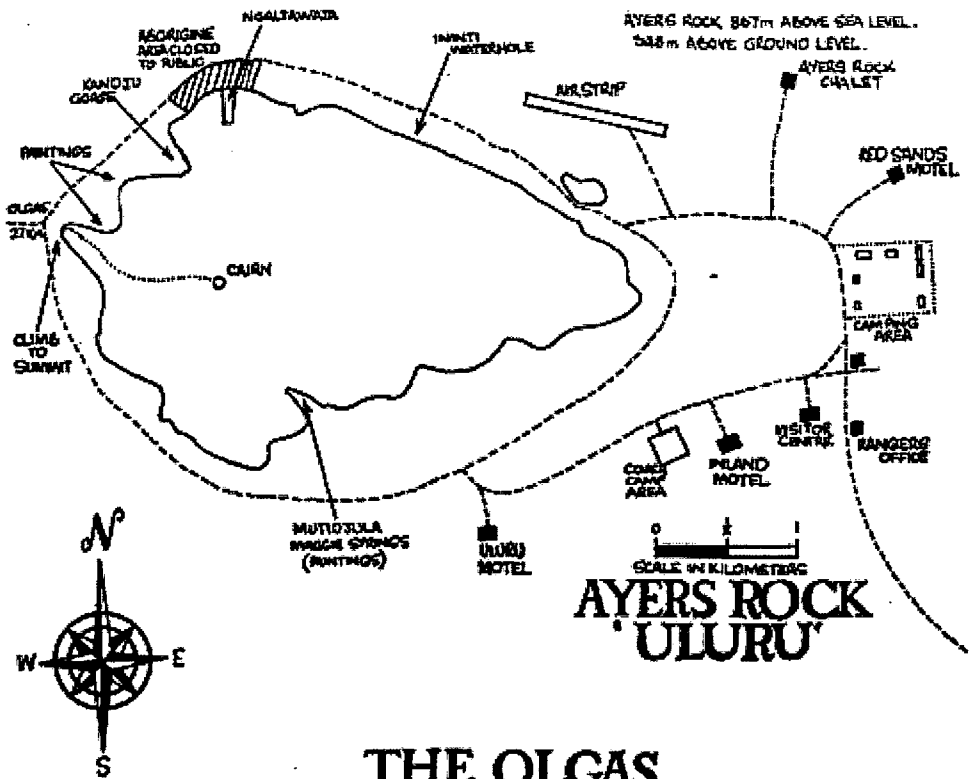
A Scripted Viewing

A visit to Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park was to witness an ancient landscape complete with primitive inhabitants, offering an experience that in many ways aligned it more with the museum than with the scenic and recreational opportunities offered by Tongariro. The declaration of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park presented a quandary for park management. The experience of a desert wilderness *and* a 'timeless' Aboriginal presence was vital to attracting tourists, yet according to the definition of a national park the landscape was to remain unoccupied. Following the park's declaration, the Northern Territory Reserve Board attempted to resettle the traditional owners outside the park's boundaries on the surrounding outstations and missions of Docker River, Ernabella and Areyonga. The erasing of an Aboriginal presence from the park was, however, never complete. Improved roads, cars, welfare payments, and permanent water encouraged the mobility of Aboriginal people into and within the park, and sales of artefacts provided them with an income. The tourist experience of the park, however, remained aligned with those early European interactions established by Gosse, Spencer and Clune, centred upon two rituals: a pilgrimage to the sacred centre of Australia, and the climbing, viewing and recording of the monumental rock and its Aboriginal inhabitants.

Tourist operators and rangers such as Bill Harney continued to promote the Rock as an Aboriginal place despite its reinvention as a national park.¹³² Harney's 1963 book *To Ayers Rock and Beyond* contributed to further embedding the Rock in the national consciousness as an Aboriginal place. In addition to managing the tourist demands on the park, Harney recorded Aboriginal perspectives of the landscape, many of which he passed on to tourists. Harney's sketch map, for example, shown in Figure 31, describes places of significance as

¹³¹ V.P. McGlone, "Interpreting the National Parks Act" (paper presented at the New Zealand National Parks Planning Symposium, Lincoln College, Canterbury, 20-23 August 1970). p. 7.

¹³² Before coming to Ayers Rock, Harney had twenty years experience working with Aboriginal people, employed as a patrol officer and Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory.



AYERS ROCK 'ULURU'

THE OLGAS 'KATATJUTA'

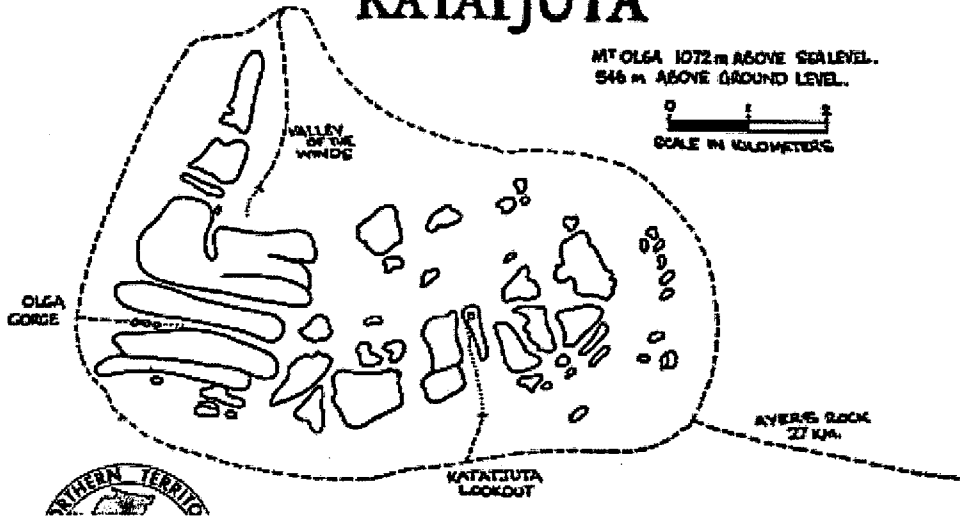


Figure 32 Map of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park 1982.

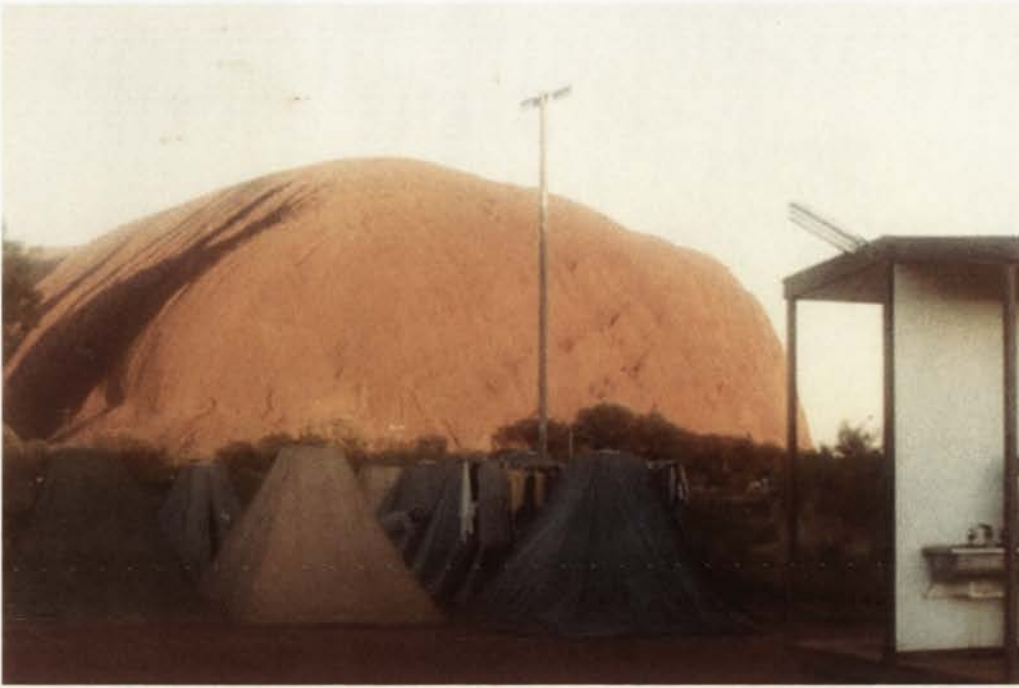


Figure 33 Coach Camping Area 1982. [ap]

Circles of Representation

Tourist interaction with the landscape was highly concentrated and orchestrated, following in the tradition of the earliest European encounters. Climbing, viewing and photographing Ayers Rock and the Olgas were central. These activities inspired what John Urry describes as a ‘circle of representation,’ where images from selected viewing points are reproduced in guide books, post cards and tourist literature, which are then replicated by tourists on their visit to the physical site. These activities emerged as rituals, with climbing the rock assuming prominence as an Australian rite of passage. By 1976, a 444-metre long continuous chain was installed along the climbing ridge of the rock.¹³⁷ The formalisation of the route reinforced the ritualistic nature of the climb, which was further formalised through the sale of postcards, t-shirts and climbing certificates. My own certificate is shown in Figure 34.

¹³⁷ Initially sections of chain were installed on two steep sections of the climbing ridge in 1966, a response to two fatal falls, followed by the painting of white markers on the rock surface connecting the end of the top chain to the summit cairn.

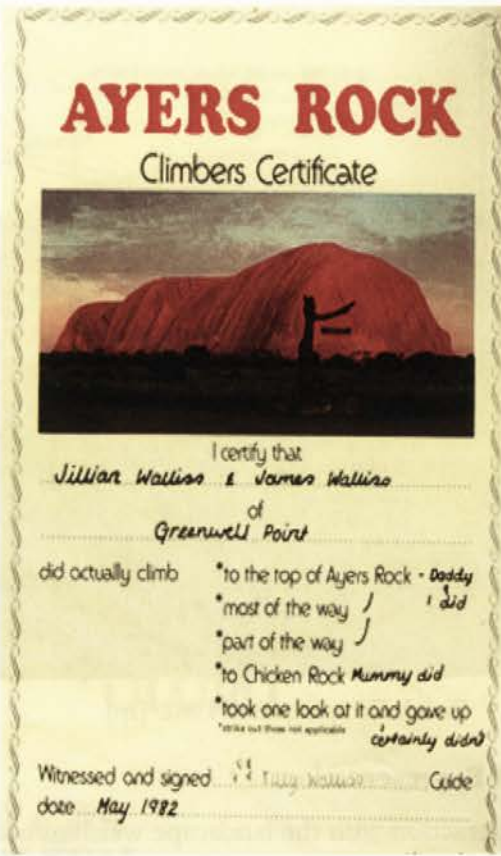


Figure 34 (left) Climbing route of Ayers Rock 1982. [ap]

Figure 35 (right) Climbing Certificate

Viewing the rock from prescribed viewing points offered a less strenuous ritual. According to geographer Theano Terkenli, visual spectacle forms one of the most significant traits of contemporary mass tourism.¹³⁸ Terkenli identifies ‘staging’ as an integral component of spectacle, offering a temporally bounded, paced and structured viewing ‘to reproduce the contours of emotion.’¹³⁹ Staging was integral to the viewing of sunrise and sunset which concentrated tourists at a prescribed geographic site and temporal moments. These points were implicated in a circle of representation, which in the case of sunset viewing, stretched all the way back to the very first photograph taken of Ayers Rock by Spencer during the Horne expedition of 1894. For example, Figure 36, taken from the sunset viewing position, replicates the same view of the rock as depicted in Spencer’s image, shown in Figure 27.

¹³⁸ Theano S. Terkenli, "Landscapes of Tourism: Towards a Global Cultural Economy of Space?," *Tourism Geographies* 4, no. 3 (2002), p.248.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p.248.



Figure 36 Photograph taken from the official sunset viewing point [ap]

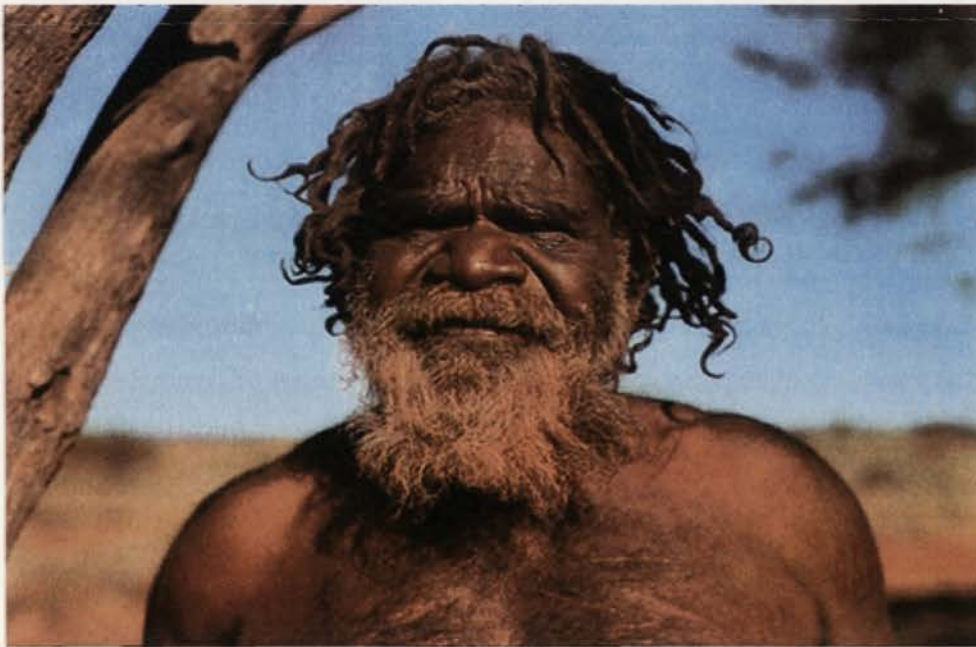


Figure 37 Postcard titled 'Central Australian Aborigine: Jimmy Walkabout, a member of the Pitjantjara Tribe 1982.'

In less than forty years, Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park achieved international and national iconic status as a dominant and authentic symbol of Australia.¹⁴⁰ By 1980 more than 77,000 tourists visited each year, compared with 4,332 in the 1960s.¹⁴¹ Unlike

¹⁴⁰ Haynes, *Seeking the Centre*. p. 266.

¹⁴¹ Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park: Plan of Management," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1982).p. 78.

Tongariro where management plans had regulated growth since as early as 1964, this tourism growth was largely uncontrolled. By the early 1970s concern over the impact of tourism on the desert ecology, combined with an acknowledgement of the distress that tourism caused the traditional owners, led to plans for better management practices.¹⁴² A Parliamentary committee report recommended the preparation of a management plan, and the re-siting of all visitor accommodation and the airstrip outside the park boundaries.¹⁴³ An area north of the park was set aside for an airport and for a new tourist village to become known as Yulara. The task of developing Yulara was given to the Northern Territory government who capitalised on the opportunity to further discourage Aboriginal presence in the park. Initial plans featured an Anangu village that would not only supply accommodation but also provide tourist opportunities to view 'authentic aborigines'. Yulara therefore was formulated not only to empty the landscape of significant tourist infrastructure, but to ensure no permanent Aboriginal presence at Ayers Rock. Twenty years after the declaration of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park, Yulara finally provided a means for erasing all permanent human occupation, both indigenous and non-indigenous, from the park.

.....

Landscape representations produced outside the institutional space of the park have dominated the shaping of tourist demand and experience, and in turn, the physical development of the parks. In the most dramatic instance, revisions in anthropology, nationalism and aesthetics converged to elevate the harsh desert interior of Ayers Rock to the status of an iconic desert wilderness. The subsequent representation of the desert landscape and its Aboriginal occupants in guide books, advertisements, art, literature and anthropology introduced the remote interior to tourists, establishing a 'circle of representation' between the images and the tourist activity. The revision of the land's status from Aboriginal reserve to national park created the unique but not incongruous idea of a 'peopled' wilderness. The museum's evolutionary positioning of Aboriginal people provided a clear rationale for this by framing Aboriginal people as ancient and timeless, just as the landscape itself, thereby allowing the desert to be simultaneously prized as wilderness yet occupied. Consequently, the tourist experience of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park was a carefully-scripted visual encounter with a primitive landscape and its inhabitants,

¹⁴² A meeting held at Ernabella in 1971 informed government officials of the desecration of sacred sites at Ayers Rock.

Paddy Uluru requested that government help protect the places entrusted to him by his ancestors. Four months later, a group including Uluru travelled to the Rock and held an inma ceremony, also requesting that the head ranger stop tourists entering particular sites.

¹⁴³ Parks Australia, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Infrastructure Master Plan (Draft)."p.22.

providing an experience more aligned with the anthropological space of the museum than the recreational and scenic qualities generally associated with national parks.

The representational revision of Tongariro was less abrupt, but equally influential. The 'concept' of the park was revised in two major phases. An initial showcasing of Maori cultural landscape and a natural playground was revised to a focus on the 'extraordinariness' of the national park, exemplified by its diverse landscape features and its unique origins as gifted land. This revision mirrors the museum's assimilation of Maori culture into the New Zealand national story, reducing the significance of the park's origins from a cultural landscape of great meaning to Maori to 'a gift.' By removing the Maori cultural connections from the official narrative, the landscape was free to be managed according to ideals of the US National Park system and described in purely functional terms through delineation of management zones to meet the recreational needs for skiing, climbing and wilderness encounters.

By the early 1970s, this conceptualisation of nationalism, wilderness and indigenous people that was so central to the management and constructed tourist experience of Tongariro and Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Parks would be challenged. As Chapters Three and Four will show, major political and theoretical revisions combined to fundamentally challenge the museum and national park in Australia and New Zealand.

Chapter Three

Re-conceptualising Nature in the National Museum

The 1970s saw the beginning of a period of immense change for Australian and New Zealand museums, culminating in proposals for two new national museums. The National Museum of Australia, Australia's first 'true' national museum, was planned for Canberra, while the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa was designed as a further evolution of the Colonial-Dominion Museum.¹ Two major ideologies underpinned the planning for the new museums: the post-modern approaches proposed by the 'new museum,' and the declaration of postcolonial national identities of multi- and biculturalism for Australia and New Zealand respectively. This chapter examines the impact of this intersection between the 'imported' ideas of the 'new museum' and nationalistic revisions on the positioning of nature within the proposed museums.

The chapter begins with an exploration of how the political constructions of multiculturalism and biculturalism influenced the conceptualisation of nature, as expressed in key foundational documents and policies including *Museums in Australia* (1975) and *Nga Taonga o te Motu—Treasures of the Nation* released in 1985. The second part of the chapter shifts focus to the post-modern display practices proposed by the 'new museum' examining how this theoretical shift altered the conceptualisation and realisation of displays of the natural world. I compare the intent of the foundational concept documents and exhibition plans with the characteristics and motivations of the display genealogy described in Chapter One.

The New National Museums

The concept of the 'new museum,' which surfaced in the late 1960s, introduced a new direction for museums worldwide. As Kylie Message reminds us though, this was not the first proposal for a 'new' museum direction.² Almost a century earlier George Brown Goode, secretary of the Smithsonian, outlined principles for museums premised upon a

¹ Until the passing of the National Museum of Australia Act 1980, major State museums such as the National Museum of Victoria, the Australian Museum and the Australian War Memorial contributed to the representation of the emerging nation.

² For further discussion see Kylie Message, "Meeting the Challenges of the Future? Museums and the Public Good," *reCollections: Journal of the National Museum of Australia* 2, no. 1 (2007), Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford, UK; NY, NY: Berg, 2006).

new concept of public culture.³ This late-twentieth century interpretation of the 'new museum' however was closely intertwined with postmodernism, and emerged from dissatisfaction with the cultural authority of museums, an authority that was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain given the fracturing of notions of homogenous national communities and social groups. Instead, the 'new museum' advocated for more diverse representations of community and identity, necessitating a shift not only in museum content, but also in display techniques. Peter Vergo, in his edited anthology *The New Museology* published in 1989, outlined frustrations about the 'old' museology that he argued was 'too much about museum methods, and too little about the purposes of museum.'⁴ Vergo argued that the museum should be about ideas, reconstructed as facilitator of dialogue and communication rather than the source of authoritarian knowledge.⁵

While the idea of the 'new museum' emerged as an academic model, the approaches advocated were embraced internationally by museum curators and administrators. The decision to construct new national museums for Australia and New Zealand provided the opportunity to apply the 'new museum' approaches. National museums were integral to the representation and facilitation of the revised discursive space of the nation given their potential to reconfigure the nation's history and identity for the public.

Since the late 1960s Euro-centric framings of both nations were increasingly difficult to maintain, as they were under challenge from an emerging indigenous land rights movement, a diversifying immigration pattern including refugees from the Vietnam War, and shifting industrial economic positions following Britain's 1973 entry into the European Economic Community. In Australia, the election of the Whitlam government in 1972, the first Labor government for twenty-three years, spearheaded the declaration of Australia as a multicultural nation and signalled an official end to a singular Anglo-Australian national identity.⁶ Australia was officially reconceived as a place of diversity and tolerance, inclusive of new immigrants while also addressing the injustices suffered by Aboriginal Australians. Similarly, the weakening of New Zealand's British identity was paralleled by a strengthening of Maori culture and political activism, resulting in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 to investigate Crown violations of the Treaty. Recognition of the Treaty

³ See George Brown Goode, "Museums and Good Citizenship," *Public Opinion* 17, no. 31 (1894).

⁴ Peter Vergo, "Introduction," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion, 1989). p.3.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.3.

⁶ Stephen Castles et al., *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*, 3rd edition ed. (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1992). p.3.

of Waitangi provided the foundations and 'nationalistic origins' for the declaration of New Zealand as a bicultural nation in 1984.⁷ This act elevated Maori to the status of partners in the administration of the state, as well as providing non-Maori with a degree of moral right of belonging.⁸

Heritage and the arts formed an effective medium for government to construct a 'new' co-ordinated national past, one of the 'few areas of policy formation', comments Bennett, 'in which the state can play so direct and leading a role in organising the time-space co-ordinates of the nation.'⁹ The Whitlam Government created the Australia Council in 1975 to guide a national approach to the arts, as well as establishing enquiries into the national estate, museums and galleries. Similarly, the emergence of the Cultural Affairs ministerial portfolio within the Department of Internal Affairs in 1975 signalled a new era for New Zealand arts and culture, establishing a Maori and South Pacific Arts Council in 1978.¹⁰ Heritage and arts initiatives such as new museums were central to a construction of nation inclusive of indigenous people, while also reflective of international cultural policy that encouraged national and community cultural development, encompassing diverse ethnic groups and popular culture.

The acceptance of post-modern agendas of the 'new museum,' together with the revised cultural policy supportive of a postcolonial national museum, converged to position Australia and New Zealand as leaders in late-twentieth century museological revision.¹¹ However, a major difference in scope distinguished the two proposed museums. Te Papa remained a comprehensive museum, inheriting the collections of the earlier Dominion Museum, inclusive of the National Art Gallery. In contrast, the National Museum of Australia was without precedent (and therefore unencumbered by existing collections) and could establish an exclusive focus on social history.¹² Given their shared status as early adopters of the 'new museum,' as well as their prominent positions as indicators of a new postcolonial nationalism, both museums have attracted extensive academic analysis.

⁷ This concept was first introduced to New Zealand by Canadian anthropologist Eric Schwimmer in his 1968 publication *The Maori People in the Nineteenth-Sixties*. Schwimmer proposed that New Zealand adopt a bicultural Canadian model which was conceived to improve relations between Anglophone and French Canadians.

⁸ Avril Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2006). p.257.

⁹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995). p.142.

¹⁰ James Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, The University of Melbourne, 2002). p. 135.

¹¹ Paul Williams, "Parade: Reformulating Art and Identity at Te Papa, Museum of New Zealand," *Open Museum Journal* 3, no. Policy and Practice (2001). p.2.

¹² The Dominion Museum was renamed the National Museum in 1972.

Scholars from diverse disciplines including history, cultural, visual and postcolonial studies have all interrogated the museum's conceptualisation of the political agendas of multiculturalism and biculturalism, as well as the influence of the ideology of the 'new museum'.¹³ What has been overlooked has been a consideration of how these significant theoretical and political changes altered the display of the natural world within the museum. Certainly, analysis exploring the representation of national identity or national history within the museum often includes consideration of landscape and environment, but these studies have only considered the representation of the natural world through a lens of nationalism, and have ignored other dominant influences on the display of nature such as scientific paradigms and knowledge.

This study reverses these perspectives by focusing on the conceptualisation and display of the natural world to examine the intersection of the theoretical agendas of the 'new museum' and newly-declared postcolonial nationalism. I explore how the political constructions of multiculturalism and biculturalism influenced the conceptualisation of nature within the museum. Key foundational documents are examined, including policy and concept documents that set out the aspirations and goals of the new museums. These documents are contextualised against significant texts on postcolonial nationalism produced by Williams, Bell, Bennett, Castles and McKenna.¹⁴

While earlier museum structures were premised on disciplinary delineations of knowledge such as biology, ethnology and geology, Te Papa and the National Museum of Australia were underpinned by a tri-partite framing of environment, indigenous and non-indigenous people. Two major revisions are evident in this intellectual framework. The concept of 'environment' moves from a scientific to a nationalistic framing, and is co-opted to unify

¹³ See Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand.", Ben Dibley, "Museum, Native, Nation: Museological Narrative and Postcolonial National Identity Formation" (Masters of Arts, University of Auckland, 1996), Amiria Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand," *Social Analysis* Spring, no. 48 (2004), Kylie Message, "The New Museum," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2-3 (2007), Kylie Message, "Representing Cultural Diversity in a Global Context: The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the National Museum of Australia" (2005), Jock Phillips, "The Politics of Pakeha History in a Bicultural Museum, Te Papa, the Museum of New Zealand, 1993-98," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001), Paul Williams, "Bicultural Space in the Museum: The Case of Te Marae," *Fabrications: The journal of the society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 16, no. 1 (2006), Paul Williams, "A Breach on the Beach: Te Papa and the Fraying of Biculturalism," *Museum and Society* 3, no. 2 (2005), Paul Williams, "New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, Melbourne University, 2003).

¹⁴ Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand.", Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Castles et al., *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*, Mark McKenna, "Poetics of Place," *Griffith Review: Dreams of Land* Summer 2003-2004 (2004), Williams, "New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa".

and naturalise the newly-constructed nations. Secondly, indigenous people are released from earlier framings of science, or in the case of Maori, a precursor to European history, and are given cultural autonomy as part of the museum's revised role as a site for self-determination and cultural resurgence for indigenous people.

Constructing the Multicultural Nation

Origins of the National Museum of Australia can be traced to the *Museums in Australia* report released in 1975. The report represents the outcome of the Whitlam government's Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Collections, which was chaired by Peter Pigott.¹⁵ A principal recommendation of the report was the establishment of a 'Museum of Australia' in Canberra. With a focus on social history, the new museum would 'mend several intellectual rifts' evident in older museums that, according to the report, 'tended to divorce Aboriginal man from European man and to divorce Europeans from Nature.'¹⁶ Instead a three part thematic was suggested: 'Aboriginal man in Australia; European man in Australia; and the Australian environment and its interaction with the two-named themes.'¹⁷ This new framing presents a major revision of the earlier discipline-based museums such as the National Museum of Victoria. It elevates Aboriginal people from their previous ambiguous temporal positioning and now considers them on par with European Australians; and it breaks the delineations of nature and culture, science and history, to propose inter-relationships between people and environment.

The Pigott report was extremely critical of the representation of Aboriginal culture in existing Australian museums, and highlighted historical attitudes towards Aboriginal people which 'erroneously assumed [them] to have been backward in all the material and social facets that constituted civilisation.'¹⁸ It stated '[o]nly recently have they been seen by museums as people rather than fauna.'¹⁹ A separate Gallery of Aboriginal Australia managed by its own Aboriginal-led Council was recommended, a move reflecting government support for self determination.

¹⁵ The inquiry was chaired by P.H. Pigott and included historian Geoffrey Blainey, anthropologist D. J. Mulvaney, R.W. Boswell, Mrs A. Clayton, F.H. Talbot, D.F. Waterhouse, F.J. Waters and E.E. Payne.

¹⁶ P.H. Pigott, "Museums in Australia 1975: Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Collections Including the Report of the Planning Committee on the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia," (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975). p. 70.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.16.

The representation of nature within State museums was equally subject to criticism, with the Pigott report sharing the new museum's disdain for rigid classification systems and chronologies. The report stated:

The message of the science museums was dogmatic and fervent. The objects on display were heavily labelled and meticulously arranged so that the message of evolution and progress might be hammered home. The natural science museums tended to be impersonal: the category and classification of the objects were all-important.²⁰

The Pigott report recommended the integration of people with environment, considered a unique perspective that would 'in no sense, duplicate an existing institution.'²¹ A multi-disciplinary approach was championed, challenging 'the old system of dividing knowledge into the familiar compartments of the school syllabus, into history and anthropology and zoology.'²² Aligned with the post-modern aims of the 'new museum,' the report stressed that visitors 'should see, juxtaposed, the events that are happening, simultaneously, that are colliding with one another or reacting against one another.'²³

These recommendations not only had major implications for museum content and display, but also positioned the museum within the explicit framing of 'nation,' a first for an Australian museum. The fact that the national borders of Australia were coterminous with a continent was regarded as 'ideal' given that 'the natural boundaries are more permanent and powerful than man-made boundaries.'²⁴

The Pigott report challenged not only the display approaches evident in the State museums, but also the concept of the museum as an architectural monument. It cautioned against 'a forbidding cathedral-type atmosphere,' instead recommending a 20 hectare site away from Canberra's Parliamentary Zone, the accepted site for Australia's major national infrastructure including Parliament House, the National Gallery and High Court.²⁵

Pavilions in the Bush

The Pigott report formed the basis for the National Museum of Australia Act 1980. Guided by a Director and Interim Museum Council, a comprehensive plan for the museum was prepared in 1982 for a large bushland site at Yarramundi Reach. This plan provides the first sense of how the theoretical agendas of the Pigott report might translate into form and

²⁰ Ibid. p.5.

²¹ Ibid. p.71.

²² Ibid. p.5.

²³ Ibid. p.72.

²⁴ Ibid. p.70.

²⁵ Ibid. p.79.

space. The site, located five kilometres from the centre of Canberra, provided a bushland setting fulfilling the Pigott report's aim to site the museum in 'the kind of landscape which is loosely described as "typically Australian."²⁶ The museum was conceived of as a series of interlinking pavilions and interwoven courtyard spaces that, as shown in Figure 38, presented 'a break with the accepted tradition of museum buildings.'²⁷ The external spaces were seen as being as important as the architecture, providing for outdoor displays, large areas for re-creation displays such as 'an early pastoralist's homestead' and performance areas.²⁸

The thematic structure of the Pigott report inspired three major galleries: The Gallery of Aboriginal Australia, The Gallery of Australia Since 1788 and The Gallery of the Australian Environment. These galleries, however, were not regarded as discrete but instead as 'strands rather than separate themes' interwoven to demonstrate the 'impact of each upon the others.'²⁹ The galleries also correlated with the government agendas of the day – the cultural diversity of multiculturalism, self determination for Aboriginal Australians, and the rise of environmentalism. The Gallery of Australia Since 1788 emphasised cultural diversity and the pluralism of Australian society, reflecting the repositioning of Australia as a tolerant multicultural society. A focus on the twentieth century was proposed, mixing under-represented perspectives of popular culture, ordinary people and women's history with major historical moments.

The Gallery of Aboriginal Australia promoted the 'value and vitality' of Aboriginal culture, encouraging a cultural resurgence and 'a sense of identity and pride' in those Aboriginal people who worked in and visited the Gallery.³⁰ An Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies was considered integral to the Gallery, and together they would operate as a major centre for learning and research 'grounded upon collaboration with Aboriginal communities.'³¹ This framing differed dramatically from earlier representations within the National Museum of Victoria. Not only were Aboriginal people positioned to tell their own stories, but they were elevated to an equal status of non-indigenous Australians.

²⁶ Pigott, "Museums in Australia." pp 76-77.

²⁷ Museum of Australia, "Report of the Interim Council: The Plan for the Development of the Museum of Australia," (Canberra: Museum of Australia, 1982).p.12.

²⁸ Ibid.p.25.

²⁹ Ibid. p.3.

³⁰Ibid. p.55.

³¹ Ibid.p.39.



Figure 38 A possible development for the Yarramundi site. (Report of the Interim Council. 1982, p. 33.)

The Gallery of the Australian Environment also proposed new narratives, presenting a natural world inclusive of people. Proposed thematics included the display of the seasons, the artificial recreation of a living ecosystem such as a desert environment or tropical rainforest, and the display of mineral resources through a recreated mine. These immersive displays aimed to offer alternatives to “stuffy” traditional museum practice.³² Interactions between people and environment were featured, highlighting for example the use of fire by Aboriginal people to control the environment, the introduction of agriculture, and the

³² Ibid.p.21.

history of major river systems such as the Murray depicted through an environmental history detailing indigenous and non-indigenous interactions.³³

Despite this detailed architectural and thematic plan, the physical development of the museum was hindered by successive Federal governments for the next fifteen years.³⁴ Most notably, Paul Keating's Labor government would only commit to the construction of The Gallery of Aboriginal Australia, favouring the dispersal of the national collection among State museums. This strategy was outlined in the 1994 policy Creative Nation.³⁵

Emphasising the twin goals of 'democracy and excellence,' the policy recommended the construction of The Gallery of Aboriginal Australia as part of a 'network of the National Museum,' that would be accessible to Australians through a 'range of static and travelling exhibitions and education programs including CD-based multi-media and broadband services.'³⁶ Reluctance to construct a unified national institution reflected Keating's disdain for 'monumental mausoleums.'³⁷ He favoured instead an understanding of multicultural Australia as a diverse and tolerant society through decentralised and more accessible strategies, rather than constructing another 'huge and hugely expensive building on the banks of Burley Griffin.'³⁸

Continued lack of support for the museum attracted extensive debate from historians, the general public, as well as many Aboriginal Australians who argued that a separate gallery worked against ideas of reconciliation.³⁹ The museum emerged as a key issue in the 1996 Federal election. John Howard's Coalition government capitalised on successive Labor government failure to develop the museum, declaring the absence 'a national embarrassment.'⁴⁰ Following election, the Howard government delivered on their commitment to construct the 'complete' National Museum of Australia, launching a design competition in June 1997. In spite of rejecting the larger Yarramundi Reach site for the more centrally located Acton peninsula, the tripartite foundations defined twenty-two years

³³ Ibid.p.22

³⁴ For a discussion on delays see Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa"., Margaret Anderson and Andrew Reeves, "Contested Identities: Museums and the Nation in Australia," in *Museums and the Making of 'Ourselves'*, ed. Flora Kaplan (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1994).

³⁵ Commonwealth of Australia, "Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy," (Canberra: 1994).Introduction www.nla.gov.au/creative.nation/contents.html

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ P.J Keating, "Speech at the Opening of the National Portrait Gallery and Inaugural Exhibition 'About Face: Aspects of Australian Portraiture'" (Canberra, March 30 1994).

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa". p. 193.

⁴⁰ See Liberal Party of Australia & the National Party of Australia, ed. *A Fair Go! For Art's Sake* (Canberra: 1996).

earlier in the Pigott report were maintained as the guiding intellectual framework for the museum.

Constructing a Bicultural Nation

In contrast to the contested foundations of the National Museum of Australia, the evolution of Wellington's Dominion Museum into Te Papa was a smoother transition, considered an integral part of broader political, economic and cultural revisions that re-defined New Zealand in the late 1980s. The establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 was accompanied by Maori political activism and a cultural renaissance that included demands for greater control over the representation of Maori history, customs and culture. The subsequent declaration of New Zealand as a bicultural nation, a position that alleviated Maori demands for greater independence, combined with an increasingly overcrowded Dominion-National Museum converged in a proposal for a 'new' bicultural National Museum. This revision coincided with the introduction of free market enterprise into New Zealand, instigated by David Lange's Labour government. New Zealand's public service was targeted for significant reform, transforming sections into profit-making state-owned enterprises. Economic, political and cultural agendas therefore intersected to redefine the former Dominion Museum into Te Papa, a commercially positive, state sponsored representation of biculturalism, supportive of Maori cultural sovereignty.

The Te Maori exhibit, which toured America between 1984 and 1986, is considered an important catalyst for Te Papa. Comprised of taonga ("treasures") from thirteen New Zealand museums, Te Maori opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in September 1984. On its return to New Zealand, the exhibit was shown in four major New Zealand museums, with an estimated 900,000 visitors (28% of the population) visiting the display.⁴¹ In a major change from earlier ethnographic displays, Maori protocol was integral to the exhibit, which extended on the exhibition's return to New Zealand to the establishment of marae outside museums, cultural performances, and the use of guides from the local iwi.⁴² The impact of Te Maori on the display of Maori culture was complex. McCarthy maintains that the display simultaneously redefined artefact from ethnographic objects to an aesthetic art appreciated by the Western eye, while also providing a powerful expression of Maori cultural nationalism reframing artefact as taonga, representations of

⁴¹ Douglas Newton, "Old Wine in New Bottles, and the Reverse," in *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity*, ed. Flora S. Kaplan (London ; New York: Leicester University Press, 1996). p.285.

⁴² Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa". p. 147.

continuing cultural identity.⁴³ Te Maori demonstrated new partnerships between Maori communities and museums, as well as the importance of Maori culture to New Zealand's national heritage and identity, inspiring the decision to develop a Pacific Cultural Centre as a replacement for the Dominion-National Museum.

A Pacific Museum

In May 1985 Cabinet commissioned a project team to devise the parameters for a Pacific Cultural Centre that would include the National Art Gallery as well as relevant aspects of the National Museum.⁴⁴ Operating under the terms of biculturalism, the team proposed a unifying structure to provide 'New Zealand's different cultural traditions their own special mana and recognition, while allowing each to contribute with equal importance to shaping the nation's identity.'⁴⁵ In a major change, the National Museum was recast as a 'Pacific' institution to house the nation's taonga, renamed the 'National Museum of New Zealand/ Te Marae Taonga o Aotearoa' (The Marae of Treasures of Aotearoa). A 'whanau of museums' was proposed for a site on Wellington's waterfront including the National Art Museum, Te Whare Taonga Tangata Whenua (Maori Pacific Art and Culture) and the National Museum of Human Society and the Natural Environment that would represent all the people of New Zealand.⁴⁶ Similar to the recommendations of the Pigott report, these divisions would not be treated as discrete areas of knowledge but 'linked and integrated' allowing the visitor to 'pass from one experience to the other with little indication of curatorial divisions.'⁴⁷

Over the following five years the 'Pacific' Museum evolved into a more explicit bicultural institution, primarily through the adoption of the cultural and political divisions determined by the Treaty of Waitangi. A Project Development Board formed in 1988 and chaired by former Prime Minister Sir Wallace Rowling proposed the tri-partite conceptual framework of Papatuanuku, the earth on which we all live; Tangata Whenua, those that belong to the land by the right of first discovery; and Tangata Tiriti, those who belong to the land by right of the Treaty. Significantly, these categories replaced the disciplinary divisions maintained in the 1985 plan for a Pacific Museum, to reflect instead the political structuring

⁴³ Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007). pp.138-143.

⁴⁴ Project Development Board, "Nga Taonga O Te Motu: Te Marae Taonga O Aotearoa, Treasures of the Nation: National Museum of New Zealand: A Plan for Development," (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1985),p.1.

⁴⁵ Ibid.p.2.

⁴⁶ The report adopts a mix of Maori and English terms; whanau describes a 'family grouping.'

⁴⁷ Project Development Board, "Nga Taonga O Te Motu: Te Marae Taonga O Aotearoa, Treasures of the Nation: National Museum of New Zealand: A Plan for Development."p.14.

of the Treaty, an issue I will return to in more detail. The institutional concept further emphasised a bicultural mandate, described in the following manner:

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa will be a national museum that powerfully expresses the total culture of New Zealand. It will express the bicultural nature of the country, recognising the mana and significance of each of the two mainstreams of tradition and cultural heritage and providing the means for each to contribute effectively to a statement of the nation's identity.⁴⁸

In a further challenge to earlier museological framings, Te Papa was conceptualised as 'a forum for the nation.' Unlike the Dominion Museum of the 1930s that was conceived as a medium for 'disseminating knowledge and moulding public taste,' Te Papa would instead facilitate dialogue and debate.⁴⁹ The mission statement released in 1992 claimed that Te Papa would operate 'as a forum in which the nation may present, explore, and preserve both the heritage of its cultures and knowledge of the natural environment.'⁵⁰ Speaking in 1997, CEO of Te Papa Cheryll Sotheran (now Dame) considered the museum as a place that allowed visitors to 'be active participants in the formation of their own identity.'⁵¹ Participation was further stressed in the identification of Te Papa as 'a waharoa' considered 'both an entryway to New Zealand and a catalyst for New Zealanders to explore and reflect on their cultural identity and natural heritage through stories and objects.'⁵² 'Forum' and 'waharoa' extended the civic role of the museum past an earlier emphasis on education and knowledge to promote a questioning and exploration of both national and personal identity. These twin agendas reflect Te Papa's ambition to operate as an active agent in national identity formation as well as providing a heightened customer focus for the museum.

Naturalising the Nation

Te Papa's foundations reflect a complex mix of political, cultural and economic revisions encompassing biculturalism, the Treaty of Waitangi, civic forum, customer satisfaction and commercial profitability. Similarly, the proposed galleries for the National Museum of Australia, influenced by the Pigott Report, broke from disciplinary divisions to project government concerns of the day: self determination for Aboriginal people, an inclusive multicultural history of the nation and an increasing environmental concern. These

⁴⁸ Project Development Board, "A Concept for the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Project Office, 1989). p.1.

⁴⁹ "The New Dominion Museum," *Evening Post*, July 31 1936. p.6.

⁵⁰ www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/AboutTePapa/AboutUs/WhatWeDo/The+Mission.htm

⁵¹ Jenny Chamberlain, "Cheryll Sotheran," *North & South*, no. June (1997).p.75.

⁵² www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/AboutTePapa/AboutUs/WhatWeDo/Corporate+Principles.htm

foundations reflect a fundamental shift in the museum's role from conveyor of knowledge to representation of a political construction of national identity. This repositioning revisits the intentions of the International Exhibitions some hundred years earlier, where content was guided by constructions of colonial and national identity rather than knowledge.

In the case of the National Museum of Australia and Te Papa, an apparently similar tri-partite thematic was adopted as the guiding structure for the museums, despite their differing national identities of multiculturalism and biculturalism. Closer examination, however, reveals different constructions of biculturalism and multiculturalism underpinning these themes, as well as a shared emphasis on 'environment' considered integral for 'naturalising' the politically devised national identities. This new role for environment is reflective of how the modern nation-state creates its identity through imagining that its people are bound to the same territory, or as Tony Bennett writes 'occupants of a territory that has been historicised and subjects of a history that has been territorialised.'⁵³ An unresolved tension clouds these revised postcolonial constructions, namely that land is not so much shared by indigenous and non-indigenous people, but more the focus of ongoing processes of dispute.

Connections between nationalism and landscape are of course not specific to a postcolonial nationalism. As proposed earlier, the mountain and desert landscapes of Tongariro and Ayers Rock were transformed into iconic landscapes symbolic of the nation, while in the museum, knowledge of the indigenous environment emerged as an important government strategy for naturalizing its citizens, especially children. These earlier constructions, however, assimilated indigenous people into the broader construction of the nation. In contrast, a postcolonial construction of nation as framed by the tri-partite thematic acknowledges indigenous people as traditional owners, thereby creating tension with the 'naturalising' of the settler society in a landscape acquired through colonial processes of dispossession. This tension is particularly acute in Australia where no Treaty was signed between Aboriginal people and the Crown. As historian Mark McKenna notes, assertion of settler belonging in Australia occurs at the 'site of the greatest moral dilemma in Australian history – the land that was taken without negotiation, treaty or consent from Aboriginal people.'⁵⁴

⁵³ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. p.141.

⁵⁴ McKenna, "Poetics of Place." pp.190-191.

The fact of the Treaty of Waitangi provides a point of legitimacy for colonial settlement of New Zealand. Te Papa's tripartite thematic reflects the structure of the Treaty, establishing the intellectual and nationalistic foundations for the bicultural museum. Tangata Whenua 'those who belong to the land' and Tangata Tiriti or 'belonging to the land by the right of treaty' present the binaries of biculturalism, while Papatuanuku, a Maori term for Earth mother, encompasses the physical environment they share. Bicultural New Zealand as represented within Te Papa therefore recognises Maori 'cultural sovereignty,' while providing a sense of belonging for non-Maori.⁵⁵ However, as Paul Williams observes, implicated in this structure are the 'colonial social and political structures and the antagonisms between them.'⁵⁶ Absent, for example, is any sense of cultural hybridity, and instead categories are premised on cultural bifurcation.

This delineation was not replicated in the National Museum of Australia's tripartite framework. Instead Aboriginal people are recognised twice: once within their own political and cultural space that operates as a vehicle for cultural development and self determination; and again through the non-ethnocentric terminology of multiculturalism.⁵⁷ Within this second category, ethnicity is suppressed and is replaced by concepts of diversity and cultural pluralism, and indigenous people are provided with no specific claim as traditional owners. Their position is further erased in the reduction of the tripartite thematic into 'People, Land and Nation' assumed as the major 'intellectual framework for its stories.'⁵⁸

Therefore, while appearing similar, the tripartite framings present two differing versions of nation. Te Papa reverts back to the historical moment of the Treaty to construct the new 'bicultural' nation, whereas the National Museum of Australia fluctuates between acknowledging indigenous people as separate from multiculturalism, to absorbing them into the generalities of 'People, Land and Nation.' The third element of the tripartite framing described variously as 'Land' 'environment' and 'Papatuanuku' serves to naturalise these political constructions of nation. In her analysis of Te Papa, Avril Bell highlights the influence of a sedentarist theory of culture that assumes that 'authentic' culture develops

⁵⁵ Conal McCarthy, "From Curio to Taonga : A Genealogy of Display at New Zealand's National Museum 1865-2001" (PhD, Victoria University of Wellington, 2004). p.278.

⁵⁶ Williams, "New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa". p.230.

⁵⁷ Castles et al., *Mistaken Identity : Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*. p.13.

⁵⁸ www.nma.gov.au/newmuseum 3/8/2002

through 'the interaction between a people and their geographical environment.'⁵⁹ Bell argues that in the case of New Zealand, Pakeha nationalism 'depends more centrally on assertions of attachment to place than on narrations of history or of cultural distinction.'⁶⁰

Bell's observations are not specific to Te Papa and apply equally to the National Museum of Australia. Connections between settler culture and land serve to 'naturalise' non-indigenous culture, by alleviating anxieties concerning cultural 'authenticity.' This construction is central to the intellectual frameworks of both museums. The natural world is no longer positioned in relation to science and displayed according to the disciplinary delineations and scientific parameters of geology, anthropology and biology, but is instead adopted as the unifying principle to construct and naturalise politically-constructed nations. This differs significantly from the coincidence of earlier twentieth century nationalism, ecology and education where knowledge of environment sought to naturalise the citizen. This later construction adopts interactions with the environment as a means for presenting a unified nation inclusive of both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. This revision has not only had a major impact on the intellectual structure of the museum, but, when combined with the approaches of the 'new museum,' significantly altered display practices within the museums.

Exhibiting Nature in the National Museum

The approaches advocated by the 'new museum' altered both the purpose and practice of museum display. Narratives rather than objects were championed, re-conceiving the object from the signifier of knowledge to 'culturally constructed vessels of meaning.'⁶¹ Display practices that fixed knowledge within classification systems and chronologies were considered 'elitist and anti-democratic,' reinforcing processes of imperialism and colonialism.⁶² Instead, attention turned to the politics of representation and the ideological construction of the museum accompanied by more 'reflexive and self-aware' museum practice.⁶³ This philosophy reflected the influence of post-structuralism on the approaches of the 'new museum' that shifted focus from artefact-based methodologies to an emphasis

⁵⁹ Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand." pp. 254-255.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.256.

⁶¹ Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand." p.2.

⁶² Andrea Witcomb, *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum, Museum Meanings* (London: Routledge, 2003). p. 128.

⁶³ Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner, eds., *Negotiating Histories, Negotiating Museums* (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001). p.xv.

on the study of language.⁶⁴ As Message observes, the 'new museum' 'deploy[s] features of post modernity to achieve a clear differentiation from the past.'⁶⁵ Displays were no longer conceived of as authoritarian knowledge, but were re-configured to present plural and inclusive story telling, often through the adoption of post-modern techniques of bricolage and montage.⁶⁶

The National Museum of Australia was conceived as a mix of traditional object-rich exhibits and multimedia experiences designed to 'enhance stories, to personalize the museum visit, and to tell a much larger story than the physical space permits.'⁶⁷ Similarly, Te Papa proposed a unique museum experience 'different from any other museum on the planet... playful, scholarly, imaginative, educational, interactive, bold – Te Papa speaks with a Kiwi accent.'⁶⁸ New display approaches were matched by intentions to construct custom-designed museums to reinforce the central narratives of the museum and to further heighten the visitor experience. International design competitions were planned for both museums. These formed part of a late-twentieth century resurgence of nationalistic expression that produced new national museums, memorial spaces and monuments throughout the world. No longer considered a 'neutral' storehouse for collections, museum architecture was reconceived as a 'laboratory of culture.'⁶⁹ The architectural brief for Te Papa stressed a new role for the architecture as a 'communicator; a host; a treasure house; a resource; a memory, a vision and a symbol.'⁷⁰ Similarly the brief for the National Museum of Australia, aligned with the recommendations of the Pigott report, called for a gesture of anti-monumentality, reflective of 'a society continually questioning, exploring and re-inventing itself.'⁷¹

This analysis explores how the display approaches of the 'new museum' altered the conceptualisation of displays of nature in the National Museum of Australia and Te Papa. Foundational concept documents and exhibition plans are examined. I draw on critique

⁶⁴ Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand." p.3.

⁶⁵ Message, "The New Museum." p. 604.

⁶⁶ Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture*. p.28

⁶⁷ NMA, Conceptual Design -100% Submission cited Gore p. 240.

⁶⁸ www.tepapa.govt.nz/who_we_are

⁶⁹ John Hunt, "Biculturalism, National Identity and Architectural Symbolism," *Architecture New Zealand* Nov/Dec (1990). p.21.

⁷⁰ Museum of New Zealand Project Office, "Architect Selection Committee Stage 2 Documents : Volume 1 General Information and Instructions," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1990).pp.10-11.

⁷¹ National Museum of Australia, *Building History: The National Museum of Australia* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2001).p. 7.

from scholars including Henare, Message and McCarthy,⁷² together with the characteristics of the display genealogy established in Chapter One, to identify major changes in the display of the natural world.

In a shift from earlier museum practices, new types of displays that feature an interaction between people and environment are introduced into the two museums. This ‘multi-disciplinary story telling’ is best exemplified by displays that proposed a national environmental history. Further, these displays, shaped by the ‘writing’ of exhibition concepts by a much-championed multi-disciplinary team, were conceptualised independently from accepted disciplinary paradigms and the museum collection. In contrast, the autonomous indigenous galleries deployed cultural paradigms such as Mataurangi Maori, to guide the development of displays that reconnected Maori with whenua and Aboriginal people with country.⁷³

Multidisciplinary Storytelling

Early planning documents for both museums stressed new dialogue and connections between discipline areas, previously separated in the earlier museums. The National Museum of Australia aimed to interweave its themes of Land, People and Nation throughout all exhibits. Connectivity was a far more complex proposition for Te Papa, given that collections crossed art, science and history. Four curatorial departments of Natural Environment, Maori Art and History, History and Art were established. As evident in the diagrams from early interpretative plans shown in Figure 39, the museum aimed to create ‘dialogue’ between these areas, using three strategies.⁷⁴

The first was to establish a unified museum collection that provided curators with access to artefacts from across disciplinary boundaries, so allowing the development of ‘innovative exhibits containing unusual juxtaposition.’⁷⁵ The second was to incorporate an ihonui or interpretative core within the museum—viewed as an ‘important area of dialogue’ for exploring New Zealand environment and cultural identity—connecting all four curatorial

⁷² See Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand.", McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*, Message, "The New Museum.", Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture*.

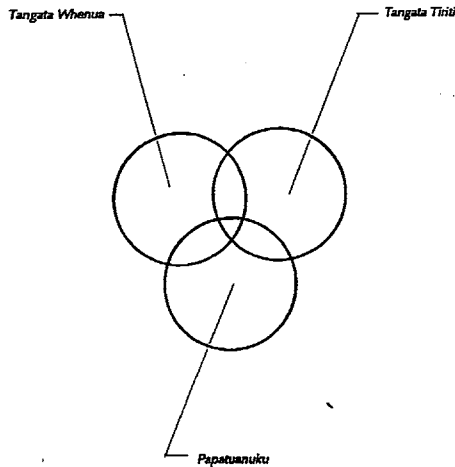
⁷³ The term country in this concept refers to an indigenous connection to land. Each Aboriginal tribe would have their own name for this connection, but given the diversity of Aboriginal languages in Australia the term country is often used to describe this interaction. In contrast the singular Maori language (although with regional variations) means that the term whenua is used through out New Zealand to acknowledge Maori relationships to land.

⁷⁴ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, "Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Interpretive Plan," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1992).p.19.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*p.19.

departments.⁷⁶ Finally, key ‘integrated’ displays were to be developed, including The Treaty of Waitangi and the environmental history exhibit The People and the Land.⁷⁷

Conceptual framework based on the concepts of Tangata Whenua, Tangata Tiriti, and Papatuanuku.



Organisational structure based on four curatorial departments.

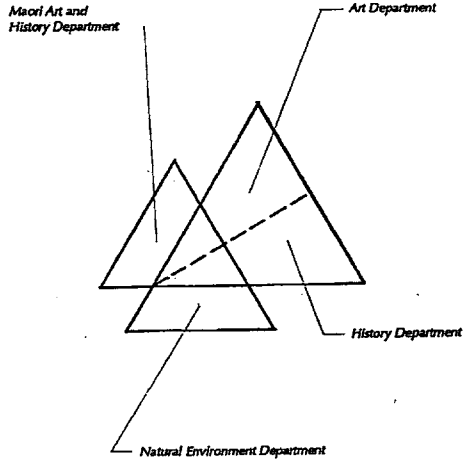


Figure 39 Overlapping conceptual frameworks proposed for Te Papa Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Interpretive Plan, p.18.

Environmental History

The introduction of environmental history into both Te Papa and the National Museum of Australia is a major indicator of a new display direction for the natural world.

Environmental history first emerged in the late 1960s.⁷⁸ Now established as a sub discipline of humanities, the scope of environmental history is extremely ambitious, aspiring to ‘move gracefully and sometimes provocatively between deep time and historical time, between global space and local place, between nature and society.’⁷⁹ Throughout the 1990s, written environmental histories of Australia and New Zealand introduced valuable accounts of settler interaction with the environment progressing past standard narratives of environmental misunderstanding and destruction.⁸⁰ In a first for New Zealand, ecologist and historian Geoff Park’s book *Nga Uruora* intertwined Maori and pakeha relationships with land and environment to deliver an alternative perspective to environmental literature which, he argues, ‘tends to marginalise people as wreckers of a mythical, ancient world that

⁷⁶ Ibid.p.31.

⁷⁷ Project Development Board, "Day 1 Exhibitions Plan," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1994).p.19

⁷⁸ Environmental history was recognized as a discrete field in the late 1960s, paralleling the rise of environmentalism. Influential early scholars included Donald Worster, Alfred Crosby and William Cronon.

⁷⁹ Tom Griffiths, "Travelling in Deep Time: *La Longue Duree* in Australian History," *Australian Humanities Review*, no. June (2000). p.4.

⁸⁰ See Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000), Geoff Park, *Nga Uruora: The Groves of Life Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995).

had no need of them' and the work of science that places 'a rational and measured face on a forgotten New Zealand.'⁸¹

Early concept documents for Te Papa featured the display *People and the Land* which was envisaged as an important 'hinge' between natural and cultural history exhibits.⁸² The Day 1 exhibition plan described *People and the Land* as a forum

to develop an understanding of the multiplicity of ways in which individuals and groups view the natural world of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the differing demands these views have placed (and continue to place) on the land and sea.⁸³

A proposed *ihonui* formed a further 'area of dialogue' for exploring New Zealand environment and cultural identity, connecting all four curatorial departments.⁸⁴ This ambition to reconnect nature and culture was shared by *Tangled Destinies*, the planned environmental history for the National Museum of Australia. *Tangled Destinies* was showcased as an innovative multi-disciplinary display merging 'the scientific and cultural history of a continent in a way never attempted before in an Australian museum.'⁸⁵ The exhibit most explicitly addressed the 'intellectual rifts' identified by the Pigott report that 'tended to divorce Aboriginal man from European man and to divorce Europeans from Nature.'⁸⁶

People and the Land, the *ihonui*, and *Tangled Destinies* all proposed new knowledge absent in the earlier museums. While the National Museum of Victoria and the Dominion Museum had presented ecological displays that emphasised interconnectedness between flora, fauna and geographic sites, they were devoid of human interactions. An interlinking of people and environment was a major objective of displays proposed for Te Papa's *Papatuanuku* exhibits, which inherited the scientific collections of the earlier Dominion Museum. *Bush City* was envisaged as a living immersive diorama that, according to concept plans, sought to illustrate 'the unique elements of landscape, living flora and fauna' of New Zealand, communicate principles of ecological and geological science and reveal human perspectives of the land and biota.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Park, *Nga Uruora : The Groves of Life*. p.15.

⁸² Project Development Board, "Day 1 Exhibitions Plan."p.58.

⁸³ Ibid. p.19.

⁸⁴ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, "Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Interpretive Plan." p.31.

⁸⁵ National Museum of Australia, *Yesterday Tomorrow : The National Museum of Australia* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2001).p.11.

⁸⁶ Pigott, "Museums in Australia." p. 70.

⁸⁷ Geoff Hicks, "Landscape Conceptual Plan," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1993). p.4.

This concept was produced by an extensive multi-disciplinary team including a geologist, Maori advisor, educator, plant ecologist, plant biosystematist, horticulturalist, water analyst and marine biologist.⁸⁸ While a multi-disciplinary approach was evident in the production of earlier museum displays such as the diorama, this team was required to devise 'new' intellectual structures to accommodate diverse views of nature. This conceptualisation was unnecessary in earlier display practices that were guided by scientific principles of taxonomy, chronology or ecology. Under the multi-disciplinary interconnected parameters advocated by the 'new museum,' however, 'writing' emerges as an influential component of display practice.

Writing the Exhibit

The transition from displays conceived around the collection to multi-disciplinary story-telling significantly challenged the role of artefact in displays. Day 1 Exhibition Concept Plan for Te Papa stressed the heightened role of writing, stating that 'in line with overseas innovations' the Museum intends to expand the relationship between writing and the museum 'from the original shaping of ideas, all the way through to opening day.'⁸⁹ Use of a diverse range of writers was considered critical in telling "truer" stories compared with those provided by the 'traditional omniscient voice.'⁹⁰ The plan stated:

The exhibition script itself should be built, as much as possible, from the actual words of writers, historians, witnesses to events, and many others, past and present...As well as the Museum's own writers, the skills of the country's best authors can be harnessed to help develop and put on great exhibitions. And, of course, text itself is a valuable artefact for the future.⁹¹

Displays were no longer 'built' around the museum collection but around words. Advocates of the 'new museum,' comments Message, were particularly attracted to textuality and language, given their alignment with post modernity and their ability 'to convey an image of the museum as being self-reflexive and politically engaged.'⁹² Objects were no longer positioned as the primary communicator of knowledge. Whereas earlier museum display practices produced knowledge primarily through the organisation of material culture, writing introduced a separation between the conceptualisation of the story and its representation within display. Amire Henare argues that this emphasis on writing introduces a major contradiction into the premise of the museum. She observes that

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.2.

⁸⁹ Project Development Board, "Day 1 Exhibition Conceptual Plan," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Project Office, 1994).p.8.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p.8.

⁹¹ Ibid.pp.8-9.

⁹² Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture*.p. 46.

museums 'owe their existence to the view that language does not encompass all forms of knowledge,' arguing that 'If objects are regarded merely as culturally constructed vehicles for subjective "meanings," then, what is the point of preserving the real thing?'⁹³

Analysis of minutes of discussions, academic summits and planning documents for *Tangled Destinies* clearly demonstrates the new role of writing in conceiving displays. An extensive multidisciplinary curatorial team was assembled including 'an archaeologist, an environmental historian, a lexical cartographer, a geomorphologist, a cultural geographer, a biogeographer in addition to historians specializing in the history of science, ethnography and the 'history of natural history.'⁹⁴ Designers are noticeably absent from this extensive team, unlike earlier museum display practice where scientists worked closely with taxidermists and artists to both conceive and design displays. Importantly, a gap now emerges between the writing and the representation of the display, with the structure of the display 'intellectualised' independently from the collection.

This gap is evident in the initial discussions for *Tangled Destinies*, which focused on the identification of an appropriate structure that could accommodate social, natural and Aboriginal histories. This structure required not only the reconciliation of the 'unprecedented temporal leap' between indigenous and non-indigenous histories, evident in Spencer's National Museum of Victoria, but also the integration of a 'deep time' history of the world's oldest continent. Released from the confines (and guidance) of taxonomy or chronology, the planning concepts document the struggle to nominate an appropriate structure. Contrasting views, reflective of disciplinary bias were evident at an early Ideas Summit.⁹⁵ Some advocated the exhibit begin with Aboriginal perspectives, only considering 'deep time' if there was adequate space. Others argued that this approach would not tell the whole story, considering it necessary to demonstrate how 'young' British settlement was as well as reinforcing the 'ancientness' of the Australian landscape.⁹⁶ Deciding against a 'deep time' narrative, the exhibit initially focused on 'big picture' environmental history, before being revised to strengthen social history content, especially personal attachment to place.

⁹³ Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand." pp.5-6.

⁹⁴ Mike Smith, "A History of Ways of Seeing the Land: Environmental History at the National Museum of Australia," *Curator* 46, no. 1 (2003). p.8.

⁹⁵ National Museum of Australia, "Ideas Summit 2," (Canberra: unpublished, 1998).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.15.

A series of case studies grouped geographically within particular regions was also abandoned, considered too difficult for visitors to relate to their own experience, while the choice of regions remained contentious.⁹⁷ The abandonment of a regional approach, considered the ideal framing for exploring environmental history, demonstrates a new tension that accompanied the museum's revised role as agent of national identity. Geographic framings of knowledge were now replaced by the need to be representative of the nation. A major internal review measured the exhibition concept for *Tangled Destinies* against categories of state coverage and major environmental zones, as well as chronological spread, ethnicity, gender and indigenous representation.⁹⁸ As a result *Tangled Destinies* was forced into a national framing, despite the fact that, as highlighted by historian Tom Griffiths, environmental history 'often makes the best sense on a regional or global scale, rarely on a national one.'⁹⁹ In contrast, the indigenous gallery, re-conceived as a site for cultural resurgence and self determination, was not only released from earlier museum framings of anthropology and national history but also from the theoretical agendas of the 'new museum' and the demand to be representative of the nation. In a first for the museums, self determination allowed indigenous culture to be displayed according to indigenous cultural paradigms.

Indigenous Place

The elevated role of indigenous culture within the institutional frameworks provided Aboriginal and Maori curators and communities with the autonomy to display their own histories and culture. Indigenous people were employed throughout museum management. Most notably, Aboriginal woman Dawn Casey was appointed as the director of the National Museum of Australia, while Cliff Whiting served as kaihautu (leader) for Te Papa, sharing responsibility for strategic leadership with Chief Executive Cheryl Sotheran. Reflecting self-determinist policies, the museum no longer represented indigenous culture but instead operated as a vehicle for indigenous people to reconnect with, and as a means to strengthen their cultural identity. McCarthy observed that '[i]nstead of a museum voice

⁹⁷ National Museum of Australia, "Links to the Land Work Book," (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 1998).p.348.

⁹⁸ Modules were considered to adequately cover rangelands, deserts, forests, rivers and lakes, with the 'urban' represented in a discussion of Perth and Lake Burley Griffin, framed as an urban lake. There was concern for the lack of coverage of major river systems, marine environments, ground water, the sky and mountains. Concepts were considered too strongly weighted towards British and indigenous perspectives, at the expense of Southern Europeans, Indians, Afghans, Pacific Islanders and Asians. Modules containing ploughs, buffalo catchers and canoes were considered too 'blokey,' biased towards the male experience, while indigenous representation was weighted too heavily towards traditional or contemporary groups in remote areas, with more content required from the south.

⁹⁹ Tom Griffiths, "Introduction: Ecology and Empire: Towards an Australian History of the World," in *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*, ed. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1997).p.12.

speaking for Maori, the display was intended to speak on behalf of iwi, and in many cases in their own voice.¹⁰⁰ This revision allowed displays to escape from the framings of nation, the 'new museum' and anthropology, and to present instead knowledge guided by indigenous cultural paradigms. Unlike the diverse multidisciplinary teams required to conceive of an interconnected world of nature and culture within the displays of Bush City and Tangled Destinies, cultural belief systems premised on an integral relationship between people and land formed the inspiration for the indigenous galleries.

Indigenous paradigms of place

Released from anthropologic, nationalistic and scientific framings, the indigenous galleries returned to cultural paradigms that seamlessly positioned people as part of the natural world, reconnecting Maori with whenua and Aboriginal people with country. De-contextualised anthropological framings of earlier museum displays were replaced by indigenous knowledge systems such as Mātauranga Māori, an iwi specific belief system for ordering and conceiving the world that encompasses living and inanimate, the everyday and the sacred, science and culture.¹⁰¹ Maori scholar Mason Durie explains that 'mātauranga Māori is not a type of science (even if it does contain elements of scientific thinking) any more than science is a substrate for religious beliefs and understandings.'¹⁰² Te Papa embraced the concept of Mana Taonga that recognises the importance of the community in caring for, understanding and displaying taonga. Artefacts were now displayed according to tribal affiliation rather than ethnographic typologies, reconnecting artefact to people and place.

Indigenous galleries sought to display the diversity and continuity of indigenous people, promoting a living and resilient culture. The 1994 concept plan for Mana Whenua for example, comprised three sections, documenting the arrival of Maori, the settlement of land and contemporary perspectives.¹⁰³ Displaying Maori in relationship to land was vital, reflected in the title for the gallery, which translates loosely into 'the power of the land.'

¹⁰⁰ McCarthy, "From Curio to Taonga : A Genealogy of Display at New Zealand's National Museum 1865-2001". p.303.

¹⁰¹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, "Speaking with Authority: Scholarship and Mātauranga at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa -a Strategy," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1996).p.30.

¹⁰² M.H. Durie, 'Mātauranga Māori: Iwi and the Crown: A Discussion Paper,' prepared for Mātauranga Māori hui, James Henare Māori Research Centre, University of Auckland, 26 September 1996, pp.1-4 cited David Williams, "Mātauranga Māori and Taonga," (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). p.21.

¹⁰³ Mana Whenua Concept development report cited McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*. p. 178.

Importantly, Mana Whenua did not support a pan-Maori representation. Given space limitations it was impossible to represent all of the iwi of New Zealand. Instead it was decided to include a separate exhibition program that featured the history and culture of a specific iwi for a two-and-a-half year period. This program, comments Cath Nesus, offers the 'most visible demonstration' of iwi participation at Te Papa, as well as a critical expression of the Mana Taonga concept.¹⁰⁴ Displays were conceived as partnerships between indigenous communities and museum, recognising the importance of traditional custodianship and cultural protocol. Iwi appointed the exhibit's concept developer as well as providing kaumatua to guide the display.¹⁰⁵ Acceptance of cultural protocol within the museum was exemplified further by the introduction of a functional marae into Te Papa.¹⁰⁶ Rongomaraeroa was considered critical for creating a culturally-appropriate welcoming place within the museum as well as a proper cultural environment for taonga.¹⁰⁷

Displays of Maori connections to land were not limited to Mana Whenua. Exhibition concepts for the Papatuanuku exhibits aimed to include human relationships to environment as a major theme, highlighting the importance of incorporating science and Maori paradigm within a common framework.¹⁰⁸ The documents, however, acknowledged the difficulty of establishing connections between knowledge systems that had traditionally been separated. In an mirroring of the concept documents for Tangled Destinies, questions were raised over the appropriate structure to accommodate the two perspectives, for instance proposing a 'story line as a rope' to which strands could be added.¹⁰⁹

The introduction of indigenous cultural paradigms into the two museums therefore not only established a revised representation of indigenous people but also presented a further challenge to curators: how to merge a representation premised on a specificity of an indigenous place, with narratives of a national environmental history, or scientific paradigms of environment.

.....

Despite major differences in the scope of the collections and constructions of multicultural and bicultural national identities, the National Museum of Australia and Te Papa

¹⁰⁴ Cath Nesus, "Making the Connection-Biculturalism at Work," *Te Ara - Museums Aotearoa* (2004). p.15.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p.15.

¹⁰⁶ A marae is a ceremonial meeting space which includes a whareniui (meeting house) and a forecourt.

¹⁰⁷ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, "Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Interpretive Plan."p.43.

¹⁰⁸ Museum of New Zealand Te Marae Taonga O Aotearoa, "Summary Report of Exhibition Meetings Vol. 1 Report," in *MU 476* (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Marae Taonga O Aotearoa, 1989).p. 41.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p.41.

underwent similar revisions of their display strategies for the natural world. While earlier museum structures were premised on disciplinary delineations of knowledge, Te Papa and the National Museum of Australia were underpinned by a tri-partite framing of environment, indigenous and non-indigenous people. Ideas of environment and land, required to 'naturalise' and unify the freshly devised political nation, were central to this construction. As a consequence, the museum was reframed as a site for self-determination and cultural resurgence for indigenous people. Finally, new types of displays for the representation of the natural world were proposed. Multi-disciplinary storytelling was introduced to present the interactions between people and environment, and culminated in efforts to showcase a 'national' environmental history. In contrast, an alternative philosophy guided the autonomous indigenous galleries, where cultural paradigms premised on the integral connection between people and place guided displays.

A major challenge emerges from these revisions, which has had significant consequences for display practice. An emphasis on the representation of national identity shifted the guiding parameters from scientific or disciplinary paradigms such as ecology or the constraints of the collection to a requirement to be 'representative' of the nation. Further, a dichotomy of scale and content is set up between display practices of the autonomous indigenous galleries, premised on cultural paradigms of specific places, and the 'national' representations of the remainder of the gallery. Consequently, despite sharing an intention to reconnect people and land, these two practices have resulted in contradictory representations of a 'national' nature and a 'specific' nature of indigenous place.

Chapter Four

Re-introducing Culture in the National Park

Mirroring the developments in the museums, the 1970s initiated major revisions of the role of national parks in Australia and New Zealand. Two influences that underpinned these changes were the emergence of new conservation paradigms such as biodiversity, which were internationally influential, and the recognition of indigenous land rights. This chapter examines how the intersection of these theoretical and political revisions altered the ownership and management of Tongariro and Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Parks. In the first part of this chapter I examine the impact of recognition of native title on the ownership and legislative structures of the two parks by analysing key legislation and government policy, as well as drawing on critique from prominent analysts of native title and the conservation estate. In the second part of this chapter I examine how new 'joint' and 'co-' management agendas for parks, in combination with the parks' recognition as World Heritage 'cultural landscapes' (a feature of this period) influenced management philosophies. The analysis focuses in particular on the constructed relationship between tourism, indigenous people and land management, through a comparison between management plans produced during the 1980s and 1990s, and the historic motivations for park management discussed in Chapter Two.

A Cultural Landscape

UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme, initiated in 1972, was a major catalyst for the revision of conservation practices worldwide. This international programme, considered the first to promote links between people and nature, was premised on an interdisciplinary research agenda aimed at improved relationships between people and environment.¹ Under this model and in conjunction with the new scientific paradigm of biodiversity, environment was re-conceptualised to include people, with the unit of survival no longer considered the individual or species but the organism within its environment.² These internationally influential advancements in conservation were catalysts for more coordinated approaches for the management of conservation areas in New Zealand and Australia.

¹Peter Bridgewater, Salvatore Arico, and John Scott, "Biological Diversity and Cultural Diversity: The Heritage of Nature and Culture through the Looking Glass of Multilateral Agreements," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13, no. 4-5 (2007). p.411.

²Deborah Bird Rose, "The Ecological Humanities in Action: An Invitation," *Australian Humanities Review* April, no. 31-32 (2004). p.1.

In 1975 the Whitlam government formed the Commonwealth Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service (ANPWS). This national agency, reinforced by the National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act 1975, created the first 'national' framework for Australian national parks.³ In New Zealand, a new Ministry for the Environment was established in 1986, and featured a subsidiary Department of Conservation, which was an amalgamation of the three previous government departments charged with environmental management, the New Zealand Wildlife Service, Department of Lands and Survey and the New Zealand Forest Service. The Conservation Act 1987 revised resource management in New Zealand and put the Department of Conservation in charge of managing almost 30% of New Zealand's land including its national parks, forests and reserves. The National Parks Act, passed in 1980, replaced the previous 1952 Act and for the first time identified the preservation of rare and endangered 'ecological systems' as a primary objective for New Zealand national parks.⁴

This more visible role for conservation coincided with the emergence of an indigenous land rights movement that also laid claims to the conservation estate. Despite the existence of the Treaty of Waitangi, subsequent actions of the Native Land Court and other government agencies throughout the twentieth century had resulted in loss of customary lands. By 1975 ninety-five percent of all New Zealand land was held in private ownership, leaving Maori in a marginally better position than Aboriginal Australians.⁵ As Denoon, Mein and Smyth comment, 'closer observation of native title suggests that the experiences of Aboriginal Australians and Maori were not absolutely different, despite the Treaty of Waitangi.'⁶ Recognition of native title, while a national political concern, also formed part of an international movement to re-establish cultural and economic connections between indigenous people and land. The Zaire Resolution on the protection of Traditional Ways of Life passed in 1975 by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) had requested that all members establish strategies to enable the lands of indigenous people to be incorporated into conservation areas without displacement, loss of ownership and tenure rights to live on and use the land.⁷ The South Pacific Conference on National Parks

³David Lawrence, *Kakudu: The Making of a National Park* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000). p. 183.

³Lawrence, *Kakudu: The Making of a National Park*. p.183.

⁴Section 4(1) New Zealand National Parks Act 1980

⁵Jacinta Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience," *Indigenous Law Journal* 3 (2004). p.120.

⁶Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein-Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). p. 124.

⁷Lawrence, *Kakudu: The Making of a National Park*. p. 244.

and Reserves held in Wellington in the same year highlighted differences between the New Zealand national park model, exclusive of human occupation, and Pacific models which acknowledged customary rights. Recommendations included permitting indigenous people to maintain ownership and rights to land considered national parks.⁸

In the first part of this analysis I examine the impact of native title on the ownership and legislative structures of Tongariro and Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Parks. I draw on legislation, government policy and management plans, as well as critique from prominent analysts of native title and the conservation estate including Langton, Park, Phillips, Williams, Ruru and Coombes.⁹

While both parks adopted management models inclusive of indigenous people, this examination of ownership and management structures demonstrates very different relationship between indigenous people and the Crown. Hand back of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park to the traditional owners clearly recognises their ownership of the land. The subsequent 'joint' management arrangement between the traditional owners and the Crown recast the park as a site of cultural and economic resurgence for Aboriginal people, creating a theoretical and political convergence between the park and the self determination agendas of Te Papa and the National Museum of Australian. In contrast, Tongariro remains outside the political reconfiguration of New Zealand as bi-cultural nation and the claims of the Waitangi Tribunal. Instead ownership of the park remained with the Crown, maintaining the park as a national space to be 'shared' by all New Zealanders, with the subsequent 'co' management model only obligating the Crown to 'consult' with iwi.

⁸ AAAC Acc W2789 19/2/4 pt 15, Admin of National Parks, NA Auckland cited Geoff Park, "Effective Exclusion?: An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna 1912-1983," (Wellington, N.Z.: Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). pp. 347-8.

⁹ Marcia Langton, Maureen Tehan, and Lisa Palmer, eds., *Honour among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004), Margaret Mutu, "Maori Participation and Input into Resource Management and Conservation in Aotearoa/New Zealand" (paper presented at the Ecopolitics VIII Conference, Lincoln University, 1994), Park, "Effective Exclusion?: An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna 1912-1983.", Susan Burton Phillips, "National Parks and Aboriginal Land," *The Australasian Journal of Natural Resources Law and Policy* 2, no. 2 (1995), Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience.", Joe Williams, "Treaty Making in New Zealand/Te Hanga Tiriti Ki Aotearoa," in *Honour among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People*, ed. Marcia Langton, et al. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004), Brad Coombes and Stephanie Hill, "Na Whenua, Na Tuhoe. Ko D.O.C. Te Partner' - Prospects for Comangement of Te Urewara National Park," *Society and Natural Resources* 18 (2005).

Handing Back the National Park

One year after the opening of Yulara in 1984, Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park was 'handed back' to the traditional owners, the Anangu people. Hand back of Uluru is considered a defining moment in Aboriginal and government relationships in Australia. This act is not as celebratory as the term may suggest, and in this shares similarities with the 'gifting' of the volcanic peaks of Tongariro to the Crown, almost a century earlier. Both actions denied indigenous people their full rights as traditional owners. Hand back was conditional on the traditional owners leasing the park back to the government for 99 years, and on the land remaining a national park, albeit reconceived as an Aboriginal national park. The terms of the lease did provide Anangu with possibilities to strengthen economic self-sufficiency, cultural development, and cultural identity; protected their right to enter, use and reside in the park; and promoted Aboriginal management of the park.

The origins of hand back lie in the success of the 1967 referendum that altered the Australian constitution to provide Federal government power to legislate for Aboriginal people. The referendum began a revolution within Aboriginal leadership to focus no longer on equal rights but on Aboriginal rights – the recognition of land rights based on traditional association.¹⁰ Two events in the Northern Territory provided insight into Aboriginal realities for Australians. In 1966 the Gurindji people at Wave Hill Station went on strike over pay delays and poor living conditions, and in 1968 Aboriginal elders from Yirrkala took legal action against the Nabalco bauxite-mining company and the Commonwealth. Although unsuccessful, the legal action of the Yirrkala people represented a moral victory for Aboriginal people, leading Supreme Court Justice Blackburn to acknowledge that Aboriginal people had a fundamental spiritual association with the land.¹¹ Blackburn, however, still maintained the constitutional orthodoxy of *terra nullius*, determining that Australian common law did not require government to recognize land rights under Aboriginal law which may have existed prior to the 1788 occupation.

Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976

Addressing the injustices experienced by Aboriginal people was a major objective for the Whitlam Labor government. A Royal Commission into Aboriginal land title was the first

¹⁰ K. R. Howe, *Race Relations Australia and New Zealand a Comparative Survey 1770s-1970s* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1977). p.69.

¹¹ See Northern Territory Supreme Court, *Milirrpum V. Nabalco Pty. Ltd. And the Commonwealth of Australia (Gove Land Rights Case) : A Claim by Aborigines That Their Interests in Certain Land Had Been Invaded Unlawfully by the Defendants : Judgment of the Honourable Mr. Justice Blackburn* (Sydney: Law Book Company, 1971).

step in delivering justice and equality to the Aboriginal people. Given that land ownership remained under the legislative responsibility of each State, this Commission, headed by Justice Edward Woodward, focused on the federally-controlled Northern Territory. Woodward recommended that all reserved land in the Northern Territory—excluding land within municipal area of Darwin, two cattle stations owned by Aboriginal corporations and the Coburg Peninsula and Tanami wildlife sanctuaries—be handed back to Aboriginal owners as inalienable freehold, with title vested in land trusts.¹² Further recommendations included the establishment of Northern Territory Land Rights legislation, Land Councils, and the joint management of protected areas including reserves, sanctuaries, and national parks, aiming to ‘reconcile Aboriginal interests with those of conservation.’¹³ Woodward concluded that ‘a scheme of Aboriginal title, combined with national park status and joint management would prove acceptable to all interests.’¹⁴

The amended Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 implemented the Commission’s recommendations, providing Aboriginal people with immediate title to 19% of the territory, the right to claim a further 30%, a political voice through land councils and a say over mineral exploration and mining on their lands, including royalty payments.¹⁵ Subsequently, each State government passed their own native title legislation. None of the legislation addressed the question of Aboriginal rights under common law, which was only addressed in the 1992 Mabo decision from the High Court of Australia, which recognised that the Meriam people from the eastern Torres Straits had continuously and exclusively inhabited and possessed Murray Island (Mer). The Court determined that Aborigines had common law rights that predated British sovereignty, and that these rights survived where title had not already been extinguished by government action and where an ongoing Aboriginal relationship to the land persisted.¹⁶ Importantly, the subsequent passing of a Federal Native Title Act¹⁷ introduced, according to prominent Aboriginal academic

¹² Aboriginal Land Rights Commission, *First Report* (Canberra: Aboriginal Land Rights Commission, 1973).

¹³ Aboriginal Land Rights Commission, *Second Report* (Canberra: Aboriginal Land Rights Commission, 1974), p.91.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Lawrence, *Kakadu: The Making of a National Park*, p. 86.

¹⁶ Langton, Tehan, and Palmer, eds., *Honour among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People*, p.21.

¹⁷ On 23 December 1993, a Federal Native Title Act was passed protecting native title, while establishing that claims could not be made on current land holdings. The legislative question of whether native title extinguished pastoral leases remained vague until the High Court Wik judgement which found that native title could co-exist with pastoral leases. With pastoral leases covering close to 40% of Australia, farmers and conservatives panicked, resulting in John Howard’s Liberal governments ‘10 point plan’ compromise aimed at winning back some of the gains of Aboriginal people. Howard’s bill was eventually passed, allowing states to override native title on pastoral leases.

Professor Marcia Langton 'a culture of agreement making' between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and government.¹⁸

On 26 October 1985, the Governor General formally granted title for Ayers Rock-Uluru National Park to the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Aboriginal Land Trust. The traditional owners, represented by Pitjantjatjara Council and Central Land Council, had successfully lobbied for rights to the land, aided by the election of the Hawke Labor government in 1983. Hand back was resisted by the Northern Territory Country Liberal Party Government, who argued that the land be vested in the Northern Territory government, providing freehold title only in places where Anangu would live. Chief Minister Ian Tuxworth mounted a heated campaign based on the rhetoric of patriotism and heritage, arguing that hand back 'places in the hands of just a few a major piece of Australia's material heritage.'¹⁹ Central to the campaign, despite assurances to the contrary, was the message that Aboriginal ownership would limit access to 'Australia's best known, best loved, cultural, and spiritual symbol to a small group of the community.'²⁰

Joint Management

As noted, hand back was conditional on the traditional owners leasing the park back to the government for 99 years and its continued use as a national park. Terms of the lease included the protection of Anangu rights to enter, use and reside in the park, obligating the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service to promote and protect Anangu interests and to promote Aboriginal administration, management and control of the park.²¹ The lease also provided Anangu with income from an annual rental payment and a percentage of the park entrance fees.²² Significantly, a Board that included a majority Aboriginal membership nominated by the traditional owners would manage the park. In a further acknowledgement of the traditional owners, the park was renamed in 1993 to Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park.

¹⁸ Langton, Tehan, and Palmer, eds., *Honour among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People*. p.22.

¹⁹ Northern Territory Chief Minister's Office 1985 cited Warren Snowdon, "Anangu and the Tourist Industry: Three Histories," in *Sharing the Park, Anangu Initiatives in Ayers Rock Tourism* (Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development, 1987).p.61.

²⁰ *Ibid.*p.61.

²¹ See Section 2.4 The Lease in Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Director of National Parks, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Plan of Management," (Canberra: Parks Australia, 2000).

²² The lease provided an annual rent of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, plus 25% of any entrance fees and 25% of any charge, penalty or fee received by the Lessee.

This management structure shifted emphasis from tourism and conservation to policies of self-determination, preservation of culture, employment, and skills acquisition. Similar to the National Museum of Australia, the national park was conceived by government as a site for addressing social and political injustice experienced by Aboriginal Australians. The association between national parks and self determination strengthened throughout the 1990s. Recommendation 315 of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody proposed that Aboriginal people be given the right to negotiate terms for the management of land considered important for conservation purposes, a concept later endorsed by the Commonwealth, States and Territories.²³

However, critics argue that joint management represents the continuation of land appropriation. Susan Phillips comments that

...much of the land that is least disturbed, thus most suitable for recognition as a national park due to its pristine condition, is the land where Aboriginal people have managed to survive as distinct communities.²⁴

Phillips maintains that the use of Aboriginal land as national parks should only occur with the full consent and participation of Aboriginal communities, given that national park status 'declares country to be part of the public domain,' accessible to the public.²⁵ A major philosophical revision in the national park ideal accompanied hand back of Uluru and the subsequent adoption of joint management, suggesting more of a partnership than Phillips implies. Acceptance of joint management necessitated the rejection of the euro-centric concepts of pristine nature and wilderness, a discussion that has extended past the national park into broader conservation policies and debates.

In 1994 the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission proposed a definition of wilderness from an Aboriginal perspective. Similar to earlier Judeo-Christian definitions that position wilderness as a barren place of exile, this definition considered wilderness a 'land without soul,' maintaining that 'wilderness can only exist when the relationship between land and people established through ceremony and ritual is broken.'²⁶ The

²³ This recommendation originated from a discussion by Aboriginal representatives at a Conservation and Land Management meeting held at Millstream-Chichester National Park in the Pilbara, Western Australia in 1990 and became known as the Millstream recommendation. States followed with their own legislation. For example in 1996 the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Bill was passed, providing for the return of ownership of national parks and reserves to Aboriginal people to be managed in partnership with the NSW National Park and Wildlife Service.

²⁴ Phillips, "National Parks and Aboriginal Land." p. 357.

²⁵ Ibid. p.365.

²⁶ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, "A Fine and Delicate Balance: A Discussion Paper on Atsic's Draft Environmental Policy," (Canberra: ATSIIC, 1994). p. 17.

Commonwealth of Australia proposed a further definition in 1997, inclusive of Aboriginal occupation. Wilderness areas were considered

large areas in which ecological processes continue with minimal change by modern development...Indigenous custodianship and customary practices have been, and in many places continue to be, significant factors in creating what non-indigenous people refer to as wilderness and wild rivers.²⁷

The significance of hand back and the subsequent acceptance of Aboriginal national parks in Australia is complex. In one sense, hand back shares similarities with the gifting of the volcanic peaks of Tongariro to the Crown while still denying the full rights of the traditional owners to control their land. 'Hand back' reflects as much the *limitations* of native title in Australia, premised on the demonstration of an unbroken connection to land, as an innovative new model for national park management. Consequently the conservation estate formed one of the few areas where prior connections with land could be recognised. However the accompanying revision of the wilderness concept to acknowledge Aboriginal custodianship and customary practices was a significant change in western conceptualisations of nature.

Protecting the New Zealand Conservation Estate

In contrast and at least in theory, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal afforded Maori considerably more scope to address injustices of colonization. However as the following discussion will show, the Crown had no intention of recognising Maori ownership of the conservation estate, nor of revising concepts of wilderness. The Waitangi Tribunal had been established in 1975 to address claims that Maori were prejudicially affected by omissions or acts of the Crown that were inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty. The Tribunal's power is limited to recommendations for subsequent Crown actions, excluding the acquisition of private land to return to Maori.²⁸ Settlement packages include an apology from the Crown, return of land for commercial and cultural purposes, transfer of cash and commercial assets, and the formal recognition of the claimant's association with the natural environment under claim.²⁹ In a major difference to Australia, Treaty settlements exclude the conservation estate. The Waitangi Tribunal recommended

²⁷ Commonwealth of Australia *National Forest Policy Statement*, Advance Press, Perth 1992 cited B.G Mackey et al., "The Role of Wilderness in Nature Conservation," in *A report to the Australian and World Heritage Group, Environment Australia* (Canberra: The School of Resource Management and Environmental Science, 1998). p.10.

²⁸ Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 at s.6(1)

²⁹ For an understanding of Crown/iwi Treaty of Waitangi settlement process, see *Healing the Past, Building a Future: A guide to the Treaty of Waitangi Claims and Negotiations with the Crown* (Wellington: Office of Treaty Settlements, 2003) www.ots.govt.nz

maintaining Crown ownership of the conservation estate, suggesting the negotiation between the Crown and iwi of 'inclusive management practices' or 'co-management'.³⁰ 'Co-management' not only differs significantly from 'joint management,' but also falls well short of the bicultural 'partnership' afforded Maori at Te Papa. Maori rights as tangata whenua of the conservation estate remained ill defined, and at best simply obligate the Crown to *consult* with iwi.

Land loss, together with considerable post-war population increases contributed to major urban migration of Maori to cities and towns. By the end of World War II, three quarters of Maori lived in rural areas; by the mid-1970s three quarters lived in urban environments characterised by inequalities in housing, employment and education.³¹ Urban concentration contributed to the politicising of Maori and the emergence of the land rights movement. The 1975 Land March led by Whina Cooper from the top of the North Island to the steps of Parliament in Wellington is considered a defining moment. This demonstration demanded that government address land grievances, as well as recognise Maori Treaty rights as tangata whenua. While the Treaty had little significance to pakeha (Maori term for European New Zealanders), Maori considered the Treaty to be of great importance and the deed as an expression of 'mana' of their tupuna (ancestors).³² Tribunal claims were initially limited to those occurring after the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975, and by 1983 only two claims had been processed.³³ Maori demanded the Act provide for historical claims, and a new Labour government amended the Act in 1985 to allow Maori to lodge claims against the Crown for any legislation, regulations, policies and practices that were inconsistent with the 'principles' of the treaty.

Treaty Clauses

Legislation rather than changes in ownership provides the clearest evidence of the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi within the conservation estate. Given that the Treaty forms part of an informal constitution, the principles do not become relevant unless incorporated into statutes, known as 'treaty clauses'.³⁴ These clauses do not attempt to resolve the contents of Treaty rights, nor balance Maori and non-Maori interests. Instead,

³⁰ Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience." p.121.

³¹ Denoon, Mein-Smith, and Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*. p. 374.

³² Ibid. p. 376.

³³ Ewan Morris, "History Never Repeats? The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History," *Compass History Australasia and Pacific*. p.2.

³⁴ Ruru, "Indigenous Peoples' Ownership and Management of Mountains: The Aotearoa/New Zealand Experience." p.119.

as Judge Joe Williams states, 'these clauses hand on the "hard" issues to the judiciary to resolve on a case-by-case basis.'³⁵ Strength of clauses varies according to legislation and statute, and relies on the *interpretation* of Maori interests rather than direct involvement, a major difference to the self-determination agendas that reshaped Australian national parks.

The General Policy for National Parks 1983 was the first government conservation policy to acknowledge the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, stating that 'consultative procedures with local Maori groups which have historical or spiritual ties to land in national parks will be fostered in order that the views of such groups might be fully considered in formulating management policies.'³⁶ The Conservation Act 1987 incorporated the commitment to co-manage protected areas with iwi, 'giving effect to' the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.³⁷ The incorporation of the term 'principles' within the statutes acknowledges the role of the Treaty as a living document, allowing for the spirit of the Treaty to be applied to situations which could not have been anticipated in 1840.³⁸

Legislative recognition of the Treaty therefore relies on the *interpretation* of Maori interests, first in the interpretation of the principles of the Treaty, and secondly in the interpretation of Maori interests through consultation. This differs significantly from Te Papa where Maori were elevated to partners with the museum, combined with representation on the Museum Board, Project teams, Marae Sub-committee, as well as extensive consultation with Maori communities.³⁹ Separation of the conservation estate from Maori concerns has attracted extensive criticism and is the focus of many reports to the Waitangi Tribunal.⁴⁰ In his examination of Maturanga Maori and Taonga, David Williams concluded that 'tino rangatiratanga rights of iwi and hapu entirely fail to be met by minority representation on conservation boards or authorities.'⁴¹ He observed that despite the formal obeisance to the Treaty of Waitangi in section 4 of the Conservation Act,

³⁵ Williams, "Treaty Making in New Zealand/Te Hanga Tiriti Ki Aotearoa." p.168.

³⁶ National Parks and Reserves Authority, "General Policy of National Parks," (Wellington: Department of Lands and Surveys, 1984),p.8.

³⁷ Section 4 Conservation Act 1987

³⁸ Morris, "History Never Repeats? The Waitangi Tribunal and New Zealand History." p.2.

³⁹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, "Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Interpretive Plan," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1992). p.1.

⁴⁰ See Park, "Effective Exclusion?:An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna 1912-1983.", David Williams, "Maturanga Maori and Taonga," (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2001).

⁴¹ Williams, "Maturanga Maori and Taonga." p.76.

throughout the conservation estate the Crown retains the entire right to control and manage all areas, consulting various parties as it sees fit and excluding Maori along with all members of the public as and when it sees fit.⁴²

In her 1995 report to the Minister of Maori Affairs, prominent Maori academic Professor Margaret Mutu was highly critical of the Conservation Authority's response to Maori. She stated that 'despite the very strong statutory mandate provided by section 4 of the Conservation Act, [The Director-General] would clearly prefer that he did not have to deal with them.'⁴³ Mutu considered resourcing was minimal, despite the representation of Maori on all conservation boards and the establishment of a Kaupapa Atawhai Division, a Maori advisory section within the Department of Conservation.⁴⁴ She viewed consultation with tangata whenua as 'abysmal' and criticised the Department's inability 'to discuss the issue of Maori customary use of native flora and fauna rationally' declaring 'its transience on a nil use, preservationist policy' as 'both unrealistic and irrational.'⁴⁵

Consultation, translation and interpretation rather than partnership and direct involvement are major barriers to establishing 'inclusive management.' Research indicates that without recognition of ownership, Maori are reluctant to enter into partnerships with the Crown. Coombes and Hill conclude in their study of Urewera National Park⁴⁶ that iwi are concerned that 'acceptance of co-management may legitimise state control of that space, conflicting with and sometimes co-opting indigenous agendas for land repatriation.'⁴⁷ Consequently tangata whenua are often indifferent towards co-management, given their principal grievances concern issues of sovereignty and self-dispossession, not management.⁴⁸

In contrast to Australia, the concept of wilderness was *strengthened* rather than challenged during this period. In 1981 the Federated Mountain Clubs held New Zealand's first wilderness conference. President Les Molloy delivered a keynote address advocating for the

⁴² Ibid. p.76.

⁴³ Margaret Mutu, "Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the New Zealand Conservation Authority," (Auckland: Department of Maori Studies, University of Auckland, 1995). p.3.

⁴⁴ As of 1995, only one staff member had been allocated for each the 14 conservancies, responsible for conveying Department of Conservation policy to Maori, as well as facilitating relationships between tangata whenua and the Crown.

⁴⁵ Mutu, "Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs on the New Zealand Conservation Authority." p.4.

⁴⁶ Iwi claims to Urewera National Park are particularly complex given they did not sign the original Treaty of Waitangi. Consequently their leaders argue that at no time did they cede any notion of government or ownership to the Crown.

⁴⁷ Coombes and Hill, "Na Whenua, Na Tuhoe. Ko D.O.C. 'Te Partner' - Prospects for Comanagement of Te Urewera National Park." p. 158.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.136.

continued importance of the wilderness experience.⁴⁹ The success of this conference prompted the Minister for Lands and Forests to appoint a Wilderness Advisory Board, chaired by Molloy.⁵⁰ The resultant 1985 Wilderness Policy maintained a euro-centric definition of wilderness defined as

wild lands designated for their protection and managed to perpetuate their natural condition and which appear to have affected only by the forces of nature, with any imprint of human interference substantially unnoticeable.⁵¹

Where definitions of wilderness in Australia were revised to be inclusive of indigenous custodianship and customary practices, this definition not only maintained many of the attributes of the 1952 definition but *strengthened* the idea of wilderness as untouched by human hand. For example, the policy proposed no developments whatsoever 'such as huts, tracks, bridges, signs, nor mechanised access,' offering an even more pristine definition than the earlier Act. The policy also provided for areas that did not fulfil these characteristics but exhibited 'wilderness character' to be considered 'remote experience areas', to be managed according to the wilderness policy.⁵²

John Schultis argues that this reinforcing of a pristine wilderness, which he claims was more 'geared towards the actual preservation of relatively unmodified landscape than in other countries,' reflects a strengthening of the New Zealand identity, the growth of the environmental movement, and the recognition of ecological principles in the management of protected areas.⁵³ All three of these characteristics were evident contemporaneously in Australia too, but there, conversely, ideas of pristine wilderness, even in the uninhabited mountainous areas of Tasmania, were revised to acknowledged indigenous custodianship.

There is evidence of a further influence, overlooked by Schultis: the tourist industry. Similar to Te Papa, the New Zealand national park was also implicated in the aggressive economic reform that shaped New Zealand in the 1980s. Tourist attitudes and expectations of national parks remained influenced by the government tourist authority, which during this period was re-positioned outside the public service while still remaining a crown entity, and was renamed the New Zealand Tourist Board. The Board's mandate was to develop

⁴⁹ Leslie F. Molloy, "Wilderness Recreation-the New Zealand Experience," in *Wilderness Recreation in New Zealand: Proceedings of the Fmc 50th Jubilee Conference on Wilderness Rotoiti Lodge Nelson Lakes National Park*, ed. Leslie F Molloy (Wellington: Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand, 1983).p.8.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.6

⁵¹ Wilderness Advisory Group, "Wilderness Policy," (Wellington: Department of Lands and Survey, 1985).

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ John Schultis, "Social and Ecological Manifestations in the Development of the Wilderness Area Concept in New Zealand," in *The State of Wilderness in New Zealand*, ed. Gordon Cessford (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001).p. 6.

and implement strategies for tourism and to advise government and industry.⁵⁴ Landscape and nature continued to feature in marketing proposals, however, shifting from an earlier emphasis on the scenic and recreational qualities of the New Zealand landscape to target 'green' or eco-tourism, an emerging international demand for an experience of unmodified environment.⁵⁵ It is no coincidence that an encouragement of 'green tourism' parallels an emphasis on 'pure' wilderness within the conservation estate. Consequently, this reconstruction of wilderness within the New Zealand conservation estate reflects further evolution of the earlier emphasis on the wilderness experience as a means for developing attributes of the *national* character and offering an escape from an increasingly urban New Zealand lifestyle, and instead repositions it as a corrective experience for the *global* citizen.

This investigation of the impact of native title on the ownership and legislative structures of the two parks demonstrates that despite the adoption of similar-sounding models of 'joint' and 'co-' management' models, the management structures of the two parks were premised on contrasting legal and philosophical relationships between indigenous people and the Crown. Resolution of land ownership formed only the first part of the revisions to Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks, with concepts of 'joint' and 'co-' management' influential in the revision of management practices and the subsequent tourist experiences.

Re-conceptualising Management Practices

Recognition of indigenous customary practices, combined with the introduction of new conservation paradigms such as biodiversity, challenged existing management models that were largely premised on facilitating the tourist industry. Management plans provide a clear record of the changes in management practices. The first legislative requirements to produce plans of management for Australian national parks followed the passing of the National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act 1975. Under the Act, boards of management are required to submit plans every five years outlining strategies for the protection of natural and cultural heritage, management operations, and acceptable uses.⁵⁶ Management plans for New Zealand national parks had been prepared since 1964, starting with 'Plan 72'

⁵⁴ Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2004). p.266.

⁵⁵ Schultis, "Social and Ecological Manifestations in the Development of the Wilderness Area Concept in New Zealand." pp.6-7.

⁵⁶ See National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Act 1975 Part 5.

for Tongariro National Park. The Conservation Act 1987 requires park boards to prepare a new management plan every ten years.⁵⁷

The management plans prepared between 1980 and 2000 reveal the effects of these new approaches to ownership and management. Plans for Uluru have been produced at regular intervals, and the plans released in 1982, 1986, 1992 and 2000 merit detailed attention. Plans for Tongariro are less regular. A plan was produced in 1990 but no further plan was prepared until 2003, which was in draft until formally released in 2006. During this period both parks were also recognized under the revised UNESCO World Heritage criteria of 'cultural landscape,' an addition to their earlier listing under the category of 'natural heritage.'⁵⁸ This new category of 'cultural landscape' emerged in 1992 following UNESCO's acknowledgement that many 'heritage' sites reflected interplay between cultural and natural influences. Tongariro was the first national park in the world to be listed under the criteria. Uluru, recognised in 1994 was the second.

The new 'joint' and 'co-' management agendas, combined with the parks' recognition as World Heritage 'cultural landscapes', influenced their management philosophies and drew the focus to the relationship between tourism, indigenous people and land management. This changing focus is most clearly reflected in three significant revisions to the management plans for Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. First, Tjurkapa, an indigenous cultural paradigm, replaced western conservation as the guiding management philosophy. Second, the tourist experience was revised from an earlier emphasis on visual spectacle to education. Finally, permits and financial penalties were introduced to control landscape representations in tourist and commercial material. In contrast the management plans for Tongariro reflect little change in either management practices or the projected tourist experience from the earlier patterns. The park, now managed according to biodiversity and ecosystem management, continued to be defined as a shared 'national' space facilitating active recreation, scenic walks and the much-championed wilderness experience. The strongest indication of Maori cultural connections was perceived to be the park's origin as a 'gift', an emphasis that was validated in the World Heritage cultural landscape citation.

⁵⁷ See 5.2 Section 6B (1) of the Conservation Act 1987

⁵⁸ The category of natural heritage was underpinned by the premise that the less evidence of human interference in a 'natural' site, the better the value of the place.

An Anangu Cultural Landscape

From 1986 onward, plans of management for Uluru have become progressively weighted towards Aboriginal perspectives, 'stretching' the model of the national park as far as possible to accommodate Anangu values. Re-conception of the park as an Anangu cultural landscape introduced a change in management philosophy that led to the adoption of principles of Tjurkapa, an indigenous land management paradigm. This acceptance of indigenous perspectives mirrors agendas of the new national museums, which were simultaneously being reconfigured as sites for the cultural resurgence and self-determination of indigenous people. Analysis of the management plans for Uluru demonstrates that the extent of these revisions far exceeded the proposals for the national museums. For example, the national museums proposed the representation of a 'national' nature *alongside* indigenous perspectives of place. In a far more radical revision, the re-conceptualisation of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park was premised on the *replacement* of earlier framings as an iconic national landscape with indigenous cultural paradigms. In effect, the park was reinvented as an Anangu cultural landscape.

Tjurkapa

Comparison of the 1982 and 2000 plans of management demonstrates the extent of this 'rewriting.' National parks, according to the 1982 plan, were 'places of outstanding natural beauty and interest and sometimes of historical, scientific, and cultural landscape.'⁵⁹ By 2000 the management plan defined Uluru-Kata Tjuta as an 'Aboriginal landscape' rather than a national park, considered a 'significant place of knowledge and learning.'⁶⁰ While the plan acknowledges national and international legislation, Anangu practices of land management are privileged.⁶¹ The 2000 plan highlights the responsibility for Anangu 'to care for country' stating that Tjurkapa will 'take precedence over other management considerations.'⁶² Similar to Mataranga Maori, Tjurkapa describes indigenous law and cultural relationships to land premised on an integral relationship between people and land:

Tjurkapa unites Anangu with each other and with the landscape. It embodies the principles of religion, philosophy and human behaviour that are to be observed in order to live harmoniously, with one another and with the natural landscape. Humans and every aspect of the landscape are inextricably one.⁶³

⁵⁹ Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park: Plan of Management," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1982). p.6.

⁶⁰ Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Director of National Parks, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Plan of Management."p.x.

⁶¹ Ibid.p.x.

⁶² Ibid. p.19.

⁶³ Ibid.p.17.

Tjurkapa was not just written into management documents or legislation. It was actually implemented through three strategies of participation. The Board of Management had majority representation of six Aboriginal persons nominated by the traditional owners. The Board included the Director of National Parks and Wildlife, a representative each of the Minister for Environment and the Minister for tourism and a scientist specialising in arid land ecology and management.⁶⁴ The Aboriginal people were involved in the administration and management practices of the park⁶⁵ and significantly, a permanent Aboriginal community, Mutitjulu, was established within the park boundaries.

Comparison of the 1982 and 2000 plans demonstrates the scale of revision required to accommodate indigenous ecological knowledge. The earlier plan had adopted scientific classifications of geology, geomorphology, soils, topography, hydrology, flora, and fauna to determine land units which formed the basis for balancing agendas of recreation and conservation, by demarcating zones of impact and use.⁶⁶ The 2000 plan proposed a *partnership* between the ecological practices of Anangu and biodiversity models of conservation that focus on the maintenance of entire ecosystems, inclusive of people. Strategies included a fire management regime integrating aspects of traditional practices with a scientific approach; management of water holes according to traditional practices; an on-going Uluru fauna survey; and the establishment of a seed bank.

Partnership extended to the broader members of the Anangu community as well as Anangu rangers. Maintaining Anangu traditional knowledge was central to management, and this included the protection of intellectual and cultural property rights, supporting ceremony, documentation of oral history and the encouragement of the use of Pitjantjara language.⁶⁷ While still defined legislatively as a national park, this revised management strategy aimed to support Anangu culturally, economically and spiritually. The park was clearly defined as Anangu space first, national park second, a framing aligned with the park's World Heritage nomination which stressed the importance of *living* connections,

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.xxii.

⁶⁵ Ibid.p.xxvii.

⁶⁶ Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park: Plan of Management."p.60.

⁶⁷ Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Director of National Parks, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Plan of Management."p.68.

highlighting the national park as ‘an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement and landscape which is representative of a culture.’⁶⁸

A World Heritage National Park

In marked contrast, minimal revision of management practices is evident in plans produced for Tongariro between 1990 and 2006, despite the adoption of ‘co-’ management practices and the park’s listing as a World Heritage cultural landscape. The plans demonstrate the limited effect that Treaty clauses and a commitment to ‘consultation’ had on park management approaches. Prevailing constructions of pristine wilderness and active recreation persisted. Further, echoing Cowan’s guide for Tongariro produced in 1927, the ‘gift’ rather than ‘living connections’ to Tongariro remains the dominant reference to Maori despite the park’s World Heritage listing premised on ‘unbroken’ associations between Ngati Tuwharetoa, the mountains, and the park.⁶⁹ The 2006 plan, for instance, acknowledges the value of the gift in creating ‘a three-way bond between land, Maori and pakeha.’⁷⁰ At the same time, evidence of Maori involvement in the park management is minimal, relegated to just one of many ‘stakeholders’ whose interests are to be considered. The park remains positioned as ‘a monumental landscape,’ considered to be ‘on a pedestal with other great monuments around the world’ including Stonehenge, the Great Wall of China and the Grand Canyon.⁷¹

Multiple stakeholders

Ten key management philosophies are identified in the 2006 management plan:

- Protecting the park in ‘its natural state in perpetuity’
- Protecting taonga defined as the peaks of Tongariro
- Meeting World Heritage obligations
- Giving effect to the Treaty of Waitangi
- Providing co-operative conservation management
- Reflecting the values of other park partners
- Providing public enjoyment of natural and cultural heritage
- Minimising infrastructure
- Managing the park consistent with conservation legislation and General Policy and Honouring legal agreements.⁷²

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 36.

⁶⁹ S P Forbes, "Nomination of the Tongariro National Park for the Inclusion in the World Heritage Cultural List: He Koha Tapu-a Sacred Gift," in *Conservation Advisory Science Notes No. 68*. (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 1994). p. 20.

⁷⁰ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro," (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2006). p.20.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 26.

⁷² Ibid. pp.39-44.

Unlike the clear repositioning of Uluru as an Anangu cultural landscape, this mix of international and national obligations offers no clear expression of guiding management agendas. Many reflect enduring concerns such as tourism and recreation, while others refer to new obligations such as the Treaty of Waitangi and World Heritage. The management governance structure also reflects this mix, with Tongariro governed by a tri-partite arrangement under the National Parks Act 1980 between the Department of Conservation, the National Parks and Reserves Authority and the Tongariro-Taupo National Parks and Reserves Board. The Board included the representation of the paramount Chief of Tuwharetoa, in accordance with the terms of the original Tongariro National Park Act 1894.

Surprisingly, the 1990 plan contained no mention of the Treaty, although references emerge in the 2006 plan, which included a commitment to ‘give effect to the principles of the treaty’ citing the following nine principles:

Kawanatanga	The principle of government (Article 1)
Tino Rangatiratanga	The principle of traditional iwi authority (Article II, Maori version)
Exclusive and Undisturbed Possession	The principle of exclusive and undisturbed possession (Article II, English version)
Oritetanga	The principle of equality (Article III, both versions)
Kaitiakitanga	The principle of guardianship/ custodianship/stewardship)
Whakawhaungatanga	The principle of partnership
Tautiaka ngangahau	The principle of active protection
He here kia mohio	The principle of informed decision making
Whakatika i te mea he	The principle of redress ⁷³

Exactly how park management would address these principles remains vague. Two issues are identified under Tino Rangatiratanga, the principle of traditional iwi authority: ‘to recognise and actively promote the exercise of iwi of tino rangatiratanga over their land and resources and taonga of significance to them,’ and ‘to identify with iwi opportunities for them to exercise an effective degree of control over traditional resources and taonga that are administered by the department, where this is not inconsistent with legislation.’⁷⁴

Added to these objectives is the note: ‘*An effective degree of control* may vary from full authority at one end of the spectrum to a right to be consulted at the other end.’⁷⁵ This clause, combined with the Department of Conservation’s ability to override Treaty obligations

⁷³ Ibid. p. 48.
⁷⁴ Ibid. p.50.
⁷⁵ Ibid.

inconsistent with their own legislative provisions, creates an extremely ambiguous relationship between iwi and the Crown.

Later in the plan, the 'joint' management initiative He Kaupapa Rangatira is identified as 'the principal means' for implementing Treaty obligations, considered 'a practical and pragmatic expression of the relationship between Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Tahu and the department.'⁷⁶ Again the nature of this relationship remains ill defined, presented as a list of issues which 'need to be resolved, including consultation; participation; sharing resources; participation of iwi in preparing plans and strategies and involvement in visitor strategies.'⁷⁷ The breadth of this list, combined with the limited discussion within the plan, suggests little has been achieved.

This absence is surprising given government discussions during the 1980s that suggested an emerging commitment to the introduction of Maori perspectives into park management. The 1987 seminar '100 years in National Parks', held to celebrate the centenary of the gifting of Tongariro included extensive discussion of bicultural park management. Director-General of Conservation Ken Piddington called for the incorporation of Maori perspectives into the management of the conservation estate.⁷⁸ Ngai Tahu leader Steve O'Regan delivered a paper on the bicultural challenge, advocating a move towards 'joint management' and stating that tribes did not want to run the parks, nor were they 'looking for the kind of settlement where the land is vested in Maori people and then handed back to the Park administration over the afternoon tea function.'⁷⁹ Instead O'Regan advocated more representation within park management, stating 'the problem is one of the traditional user being controlled and commanded by people outside the Maori system.'⁸⁰

Some twenty years later, Tongariro's 2006 management plan reflects minimal evidence of any of this discussion. The clearest recognition of Maori cultural values is the decision not to interrupt the natural processes of Mount Ruapehu's Crater Lake, considered the most

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 49.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 53.

⁷⁸ Ken Piddington, "The National Parks of Aotearoa-New Zealand: The Crown Jewels or Jewels in the Crown?" (paper presented at the 100 years of National Parks in New Zealand, 24-28 August 1987), pp.7-9.

⁷⁹ Steve O'Regan, "The Bi-Cultural Challenge to Management" (paper presented at the 100 Years of National Parks in New Zealand, 24-28 August 1987).

⁸⁰ Ibid.

tapu site for Maori.⁸¹ Land management strategies remain within the realm of western conservation, premised on an idea of 'purity' applied through an 'integrated site-based ecosystem management approach.'⁸² Conservation agendas include a commitment to an 'interconnected ecological network' within the region and the management of representative ecosystems protected from introduced animals and plants.⁸³ Wilderness areas remain protected 'in perpetuity in their unmodified natural states.'⁸⁴ This persistence of western conservation values over Maori ecological paradigms places Tongariro at odds with the incorporation of Matauranga Maori at Te Papa, and in stark contrast to Uluru's acceptance of Tjurkapa as its guiding land management paradigm.⁸⁵ Tongariro maintains the preservationist agendas of the twentieth-century national park, with minimal evidence of Maori involvement in park management.

The Tourist and the Park

Tongariro's acclaim as a World heritage cultural landscape has similarly had little effect on the constructed tourist experience, which continues to emphasise a recreational encounter with a pristine nature. Revision of the tourist experience of Uluru-Katja Tjuta, on the other hand, was a major objective of hand back. Consultation with the traditional owners identified their desire that tourists engage and learn about their culture. Education and restriction of movement were two major objectives for reshaping the tourist experiences, resulting in three strategies: the development of an Anangu-controlled interpretative centre; restricted access to sacred sites (although the climb was still allowed, although discouraged) and increased control and regulation of the tourist industry. In contrast, tourist encounters with Tongariro remained aligned with the enduring emphasis on active recreation including skiing, tramping and mountaineering or alternatively, an unmediated wilderness encounter. In a continuation of historic patterns, education and interpretation were low priorities. Instead the park remained firmly positioned as 'a shared space' for all New Zealanders, with Maori cultural values given no more prominence than demands of recreational users.

⁸¹ In 1953 a partial collapse of the Crater Lake caused a major lahar which washed away a railway bridge killing 151 people. The Department has installed an early warning system rather than draining the lake manually out of respect for the cultural value of the site. The lahar finally burst in Feb 2007 in an event which coincided with the author's site visit.

⁸² Department of Conservation, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan (Draft)," (Turangi: Department of Conservation, 2003). p. 53.

⁸³ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro."pp.58-59.

⁸⁴ Ibid.p.119.

⁸⁵ Mason Durie argues that conservation management should acknowledge the following Maori values; Taonga – resources or objects that are highly prized; Tikanga – Moral guides to appropriate behaviour that apply to a particular Maori collective in how it interacts with taonga; Mauri –that life essence and interconnectivity of all things and Kaitiaki the role and responsibility of tangata whenua as guardians of their taonga, tikanga and mauri.

Education

A series of commissioned studies post-hand back canvassed Anangu aspirations for the national park and their relationship to tourists, as well as tourist expectations.⁸⁶ Over three quarters of respondents were willing to be better informed about Anangu culture, nominating hands-on activities such as bush tucker tours and walking tours as their favoured forms of interaction.⁸⁷ Most of the Mutitjulu community considered tourism to be positive, believing that visitors should learn about Anangu. Researcher Tim Rowse concluded that the Anangu community was keen to derive financial benefit from a tourism accepted as a *fait accompli*.⁸⁸ Anangu felt that their stories were not being adequately told, citing many false stories or 'bus driver dreaming' in circulation. Research concluded that coach captains' 'anecdotal commentaries' were an especially poor means for conveying the contemporary state of Aboriginal traditions, due to 'the impossibility of describing Aboriginal culture within the rigid tour timetable and through the raconteur style of a bus driver relying heavily on allegedly personal experience and humour.'⁸⁹

An Aboriginal-controlled cultural centre, first proposed in the 1986 plan, was highlighted as an important starting point for tourists to learn about cultural values and appropriate behaviour within the park.⁹⁰ The centre was considered vital for 'telling the Park's story,' and as a place to present interpretative material relating to Anangu culture, to sell contemporary Aboriginal arts and craft and conduct other Anangu-controlled cultural and commercial activities.⁹¹ Restrictions on site access, including the closure of sensitive sites such as the Valley in the Winds at Kata Tjuta, reinforced educational agendas. Climbing of the rock was not prohibited but rather discouraged through educational material and the promotion of other tourist activities such as the base walk. The 2000 plan explained:

Although climbing Uluru remains a popular activity for some visitors, it is the view of Nguraritja that visitors should not climb. They consider that to climb is to show disrespect for the spiritual and safety aspects of Tjurkapa...Tjurkapa requires that Nguraritja take responsibility for looking after visitors in their country: this 'duty of

⁸⁶ This study published as "Sharing the Park, Anangu Initiatives in Ayers Rock Tourism" was conducted during 1985-86. Over 3,000 people, visitors and traditional owners were surveyed to determine attitudes to tourism, post hand back.

⁸⁷ Pitjantjatjara Council and Mutitjulu Community Central Land Council, "Sharing the Park, Anangu Initiatives in Ayers Rock Tourism," (Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development, 1987).

⁸⁸ Tim Rowse, "Hosts and Guests at Uluru," *Meanjin* 51 (1992). p. 249.

⁸⁹ Central Land Council, "Sharing the Park, Anangu Initiatives in Ayers Rock Tourism." pp. 74-75.

⁹⁰ Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Director of National Parks, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Plan of Management." p.xxv.

⁹¹ Uluru Katatjuta Board of Management, "Uluru (Ayers Rock - Mount Olga) National Park: Plan of Management," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1986). p.55.

care' is the basis of their stress and grieving for those injured. Parks Australia shares these views.⁹²

Throughout the 1990s, management plans proposed increasing levels of control for tourism and media, recognising the historic influence of the tourist industry in shaping tourist expectations and interactions with the park. Compulsory tour operator accreditation was introduced, as well as the control of intellectual and cultural property through film and photography permits.⁹³ The 2000 plan stated:

Promotion of the Park plays an important role in its protection. It helps to build peoples' expectations before they visit, and it helps gain public support for the park through education. Photo libraries will be encouraged to withdraw inappropriate imagery of the Park. Publishers will be encouraged to replace inappropriate images in subsequent print runs of existing books and Tour operators are to be requested to explain Anangu views in their brochures.⁹⁴

Commercial photographers were especially targeted, a response to the long history of culturally inappropriate use of images. By 2000, commercial photography of almost 40% of Uluru was banned, and a permit was issued only if the work was compatible with and enhanced the cultural values of the park.⁹⁵ Tourist strategies therefore mirrored revised management agendas, both aiming to acknowledge and respect Anangu cultural values in the revised National Park.

Shared Values

Meanwhile, Tongariro remained a national park 'for all New Zealanders,' with comparatively minimal restrictions placed on tourist interactions and the tourist industry. Unrestricted tourism remained central to the purpose of Tongariro National Park. The 2006 plan states, '[a]t the core of the national park ethos is the right of visitors to experience park values.'⁹⁶ The objective of management was to 'facilitate public benefit, use, and enjoyment of the park, where this is consistent with its preservation, by providing for a range of recreational uses.'⁹⁷ Preservation, that is the impact of any use on the physical environment, was the dominant measure for managing tourism. Consideration of any conflict between recreational use and Maori cultural values was minimal, and supposedly reconciled under the term 'shared values.' Management attitudes to the alpine peaks of

⁹² Uluru-Kata Tjuta Board of Management and Director of National Parks, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Plan of Management."p. 119.

⁹³ Ibid. p.xxv.

⁹⁴ Ibid.p.xxv.

⁹⁵ Cameron Stewart, "Between the Rock and a Soft Toy," *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, March 8-9 2003. p. 18

⁹⁶ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro."p. 127.

⁹⁷ Ibid.p.127.

Mounts Ruapehu, Tongariro, and Ngauruhoe, the sites of the original gift, clearly reflect this philosophy. The plan does not discourage public access to these sacred peaks, classified as 'pristine' rather than wilderness due to their small size. Instead the plan rationalises the two values of recreation and sacredness as an indication of shared respect. The 2006 plan stated:

The park's pristine areas hold a variety of values. For recreation users it may be the technical challenge of the alpine terrain and stunning views obtained from the hard work of ascending a mountain, or it may be the thrill of carrying skis to the head of the Whakapapa Glacier to visit the Crater Lake and ski home. For many tau iwi the peaks of the mountains are revered and respected because of the spiritual values attached to them. For tangata whenua the mountains are ancestors: they have come from and will return to them. The mountains are tapu and as such are sacred places. These values are complementary in terms of the shared respect held for these areas.⁹⁸

This concept of 'shared respect' differs significantly from Uluru where climbing is still allowed though the act is discouraged, thereby privileging Anangu cultural values over tourist expectations. This question of shared values surfaces again in discussions concerning climbing the sacred peaks, with the plan claiming that the attitudes of the climbers 'towards the preservation of natural resources and historical and cultural heritage is similar to that of tangata whenua, but for different reasons.'⁹⁹ This construction of assumed 'shared values' is indicative of how recent park management has responded to demands for recognition of iwi as tangata whenua. Rather than challenge existing framings of the national park, new responsibilities are simple 'added' to earlier values such as tourism, wilderness and active recreation. This 'additive' strategy does not produce a bicultural expression of difference, as evidenced in Te Papa's intellectual framework, but instead promotes the absorption of Maori cultural values into western conservation and recreational agendas.

Unlike Uluru, education remained a low priority, promoted primarily by the Whakapapa visitor centre, the two visitor centres located outside the park boundaries at Ohakune and Turangi, and the park handbook *The Restless Land*. Experience rather than education dominated the tourist agenda, with skiing attracting over 50% of tourists.¹⁰⁰ The plan continues to champion a wilderness experience, offering visitors 'values of 'remoteness, challenge, solitude, self-reliance, and discovery,' while shorter scenic walks offer a less

⁹⁸ Ibid.p. 120.

⁹⁹ Ibid.p. 150.

¹⁰⁰ Whakapapa remains the only North Island alpine skiing area.

challenging encounter with the mountainous landscape.¹⁰¹ The 2006 plan does include some evidence of tourist industry regulation, although nowhere near the level of control evident at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. For example the plan stated that ‘the images of Tongariro projected by the tourist industry and received by potential visitors often relate marginally, if at all to national park objectives.’¹⁰² The tourist industry would be ‘encouraged’ to ‘market the park in a way that sustains park values.’¹⁰³ Representation of the sacred peaks was singled out, with filming of the peaks above 2300 metres not permitted without support from tangata whenau.¹⁰⁴

.....

Comparative analysis of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks demonstrates the importance of interrogating similar-sounding concepts such as ‘co-’ and ‘joint’ management and ‘cultural landscape’ to move beyond a discussion of differences in terminologies and instead to examine their application in practice. Major differences are apparent in how these concepts construct relationships between land ownership, tourism, land management and indigenous people. Hand back and the subsequent ‘joint’ management agreement between the traditional owners and the Crown reframed the former Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park by re-positioning the park as a site of aboriginal economic and cultural determination, initiating a theoretical and political convergence with the self-determination agendas of the new national museums; by managing the park according to the indigenous paradigm of Tjurkapa; and by recasting tourism as a cultural educational experience.

Understanding the significance of this revision however is complex. On one level hand back shares similarities with the gifting of the volcanic peaks of Tongariro to the Crown, inasmuch as it still denies the full rights of the traditional owners. Further ‘hand back’ reflects as much the limitations of native title in Australia, premised on the demonstration of an unbroken connection to land, as an innovative new model for national park management. On another level the acceptance of Tjurkapa as the guiding management philosophy offers a far more aggressive positioning of indigenous people within national space than that provided in the national museums where indigenous perspectives were presented alongside, rather than in place of, national narratives.

¹⁰¹ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro." p. 118.

¹⁰² Department of Conservation, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan (Draft)." p.99.

¹⁰³ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro." p. 131.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 182.

Despite the government's acceptance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the adoption of a 'co-' management relationship between the Crown and iwi, Tongariro National Park remained largely unchanged, demonstrating the limited effect that Treaty clauses and a commitment to 'consultation' had on the park's direction. Unlike the reshaping of Te Papa into a 'bicultural' national space premised on difference, Tongariro remained positioned as a national space for all New Zealanders. Legislative responsibilities to Maori and new conservation paradigms of integrated ecosystem management were simply 'added' to existing values such as tourism, wilderness and active recreation, rather than triggering a more fundamental revision of the park as was the case at Uluru-Kata Tjuta.

Chapter Five

Nature, Nation and the National Museums

Te Papa opened to tremendous fanfare in 1998. Australia's first national museum opened three years later, an integral part of the Centenary of Federation celebrations. In the following chapters, I explore how the revised political and intellectual frameworks encompassing nature, nation and the 'new museum' were expressed on opening day in the two museums. In this chapter I focus on the architecture and the exhibition thematic, beginning with an examination of how concepts of landscape and environment were adopted within the architectural design to 'naturalise' the new political constructions of nation. The second part of the chapter then crosses the disciplinary boundaries of architecture and exhibition to compare the opening day exhibition thematic with the intent of the exhibition concepts that were detailed in Chapter Three.

Architecture of the Nation

While the design for Te Papa presented the first opportunity in over fifty years to produce architecture of national significance for New Zealand,¹ the competition for Australia's first 'national' museum formed part of a suite of late twentieth century design competitions that foregrounded the representation of a contemporary Australian national identity in the lead-up to the Centenary of Federation.² Connections between design competitions and museum architecture were not new, evident as early as 1854 in the design for Oxford's University Museum. An emphasis on the explicit representation of nation through the architecture is, however, distinctive to this era of museums constructed in the late twentieth century. International design competitions were held for both museums, albeit guided by competition briefs that presented different 'tones' of national identity. Te Papa's brief emphasised the representation of biculturalism as the 'official' face of New Zealand, together with the thematics of Papatuanuku, Tangata Whenua, and Tangata Tiriti. Conversely, the brief for the National Museum of Australia called for a gesture of anti-monumentality, reflective of 'a society continually questioning, exploring, and re-inventing

¹ Nigel Cook, "Nationalistic Expression," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Nov/Dec (1990).p.18.

² These competitions included the Museum of Sydney, Melbourne Museum, Federation Square (Melbourne) and Commonwealth Place (Canberra).

itself.³ Consistent with the recommendations of the Pigott report, the architecture was envisaged as 'a place to discover what it means to be Australian.'⁴

The structure of both design competitions attracted criticism from the architecture profession – Te Papa for choosing an architect based on credentials rather than merit of the competition entry,⁵ and the National Museum of Australia for imposing unrealistic deadlines and appointing a jury with only one architect.⁶ Both competitions were two-stage competitions, Stage One requiring the preparation of a design concept and an expression of interest, followed by the selection of five designs for further development as part of Stage Two. The architectural design of the museums was followed with great interest by the architectural community and generated extensive critique, including special themed editions of architecture journals and, in the case of the National Museum of Australia, a monograph of essays discussing the architectural design.⁷

As would be expected, the dominant design critique has focused on how the museum architecture represented multicultural and bicultural identities. While certainly sharing this interest, the first part of this chapter has a more specific focus, namely examining how concepts of landscape and environment were adopted within the architectural design to 'naturalise' the new political constructions of nation. This analysis also considers responses from prominent architectural critics including Hamann, Jencks, Macarthur, Niven, Hunt and Linzey, as well as the designers themselves: Howard Raggatt, Richard Weller and Pete Bossley.⁸

³ National Museum of Australia, *Building History: The National Museum of Australia* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2001). p. 7.

⁴ Construction Coordination Committee, "Design Competition Stage One Briefing," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1997). p.1.

⁵ See Peter Beaven, "Failure at Te Papa," *Architecture New Zealand* July/Aug (1998), Paul Walker, "Guest Editorial," *Architecture New Zealand* July/August (1990).

⁶ Davina Jackson, "The Politics: Radar National Museum of Australia," *Architecture Australia* 87, no. 1 (1998).

⁷ Dimity Reed, ed., *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia* (Mulgrave, Vic.: Images Pub. Group, 2002).

⁸ Pete Bossley, "Concepts in Culture," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Special Edition (1998), Pete Bossley, "Redirect, Redevelop," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Special Edition (1998), Pete Bossley, *Te Papa: An Architectural Adventure* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 1998), Conrad Hamann, "Enigma Variations: The National Museum of Australia and Aiaisis Centre," *Art Monthly*, no. 138 (2001), John Hunt, "Biculturalism, National Identity and Architectural Symbolism," *Architecture New Zealand* Nov/Dec (1990), Charles Jencks, "Constructing a National Identity," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002), Michael P.T. Linzey, "The Point of Te Papa," in *Third International Symposium of the Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture*, ed. Samer Akkach (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 2002), John Macarthur, "Australian Baroque: Geometry and Meaning at the National Museum of Australia," *Architecture Australia* 90, no. 2 (2001), Stuart Niven, "Bicultural Condition at Museum's Heart," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Sept/Oct (1992), Howard Raggatt, "Knot Box," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002), Howard Raggatt, "Visible and Invisible Space," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002), Richard Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 21, no. Australian Issue: Part 1 (2001).

This analysis reveals two contrasting representations of a 'national' nature. Consistent with concept documents and design briefs, Ashton Raggatt & McDougall's (ARM) scheme for the National Museum of Australia shattered binaries of nature and culture to present a cultural landscape of interwoven architectural and external spaces. This scheme, constructed on the more urban Acton Peninsula site, differs significantly from the earlier 'pavilions in the bush' proposal for the Yarramundi site. The ARM scheme proposed a 'great entanglement' of space, form and symbolism littered with political, cultural and aesthetic references to the Australian landscape.

In contrast, Jasmax's design for bicultural Te Papa emerged as a monumental built form that reinforced rather than challenged binaries of architecture and landscape, nature and culture, similar to its predecessor the Dominion Museum. Review of the development process reveals that the spatial and symbolic attributes of the original competition scheme were altered considerably. Ironically the development period which emphasised the integration of architecture and exhibition resulted in a loss of rather than a strengthening of major features of the winning design, most notably the ceremonial concourse, which provided a key symbolic space of mediation between Maori and pakeha displays spaces, as well as between the museum and harbour.

An Architecture of Metaphor

ARM's stage one proposal titled 'THIS IS NOT YET A DESIGN,' clearly articulated their position on national identity and monumental architecture.⁹ Rather than architecture, ARM proposed a 'cultural landscape' interweaving 'land form, water, verdure and buildings,' to suggest a new synthesis of the 'cultural and scientific, environmental and emergent, self organisational and participatory.'¹⁰ ARM's approach clearly reflected the anti-monumentalist agendas of the competition brief, as well as the pluralist story-telling proposed by the 'new museum.' Their subsequent Stage Two scheme, developed with landscape architects Room 4.1.3, shifted this provocative gesture into architectural form, producing a translation convincing enough for a judging panel comprised largely of public servants to accept their scheme as Australia's first 'national' museum.¹¹ Architecture and

⁹ ARM worked in association with Robert Peck von Hartel Trethowan and landscape architects Room 4.1.3.

¹⁰ ARM competition entry cited Michael Keniger, "Intended to Provoke Curiosity," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: The Images Publishing Group, 2002). p. 56.

¹¹ The design jury included Chairman Mr Jim Service AM, also Chairman of the National Museum of Australia, Dr Gaye Sculthorpe Council Member Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies, Ms Cathy Santamaria Deputy Secretary Department of Communications and the Arts, Mr Michael Ratcliffe Chief Executive National Capital

landscape were interwoven through symbols, metaphors, experiences and spaces to present a contemporary Australian identity based on multiple voices and perspectives.

Rarely does an architectural design competition so closely mirror the interests and design approach of the winning designers. ARM's agendas as a design firm were well served by the challenge to represent a contemporary Australian national identity. Many of ARM's design strategies for the museum were derivative of earlier projects, most notably an unsuccessful scheme for Melbourne's Federation Square competition, a design that also explored Australian national identity.¹² Ideas of simulacrum, hyperrealism and translation, strategies that position the practice of culture as a process of retranslation, had been explored by architect Howard Raggatt since the early 1980s, leaving ARM well prepared to represent a contemporary Australian national identity through architectural form.¹³



Figure 40 Panel from the winning competition entry August 1997. (Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia, ed. Dimity Reed, Australia : The Images Publishing Group, p. 57.)

Authority and Ms Moiya Ford ACT Chief Ministers Department with advice from independent architects Mr Michael Keniger and Mr John Davidson AM.

¹² The Federation Square scheme, also designed in collaboration with landscape architects Room 4.1.3. explored the idea of the knot and cast in an interweaving campus of structures and landscape.

¹³ Howard Raggatt in particular has explored these ideas throughout his studies and practice. His 1992 thesis which explored critical Australian Architecture focused on the operations of translation, copying and the blur. For a discussion on Raggatt's methods see Andrew Hutson, "The Vivid Cast," Fabrications: The journal of the society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand 16, no. 2 (2006).

Architecture critic Charles Jencks commented in relation to ARM and the museum, '[I]t is always fascinating, and rare, when architects get the commission which suits their interests. Sometimes it is a matter of luck. Yet they are always putting messages in bottles hoping the right client will pick them up.'¹⁴ ARM's provocative Stage One scheme, shown in Figure 40, was initially overlooked in the first round of judging, given its lack of resemblance to 'architecture.' Instead the scheme was only reinstated on the joint recommendation of the Royal Australian Institute of Architect's advisor Michael Keniger and the museum director.¹⁵

A Cultural Landscape

ARM's scheme broke from the binaries of architecture and landscape presented in 'the pavilion in bush land setting' envisaged in the 1982 proposal for the Yarramundi site to instead propose a 'great entanglement' of space, form and symbolism. This entanglement operated as a metaphor for national identity that, according to Raggatt, positioned Australia as a mix of cultures, twisted into a form not particularly unified but where strands of difference were still distinguishable.¹⁶ Formed by the allegorical stretching and tangling of Canberra's three major organisational axes of land, water and municipal featured in Walter Burley Griffin's 1914 plan, the entanglement inspired a giant Boolean knot that emerged as the major spatial, symbolic and programmatic generator for the museum. A cluster of buildings and external spaces including the Museum, the Aboriginal Gallery and the Australia Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (ALATSIS) research centre was stretched and intertwined across the peninsula. This entanglement, states Raggatt, presented:

not one story but many, not just one authorized version, but instead a great entanglement, not one voice, not one accent, not one orchestrated unison, but strange cacophony of song, discordant blasts, or soothing lullaby, and terrible silence too.¹⁷

This interweaving of landscape and architecture, clearly evident in the aerial view of the museum shown in Figure 41, also subverted Canberra's monumental landscape, characterised by the geometric formality of Beaux Arts-inspired planning combined with a picturesque 'designed' Australian native landscape.¹⁸ Instead, the scheme was conceived as a gesture of anti-monumentality that, as landscape architect Richard Weller stated,

¹⁴ Jencks, "Constructing a National Identity." p.69.

¹⁵ Keniger, "Intended to Provoke Curiosity." p.51.

¹⁶ Raggatt, "Visible and Invisible Space."p.33.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.34.

¹⁸ Richard Weller, "Mapping the Nation," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002). p. 131.

positioned 'architecture as knot and landscape as fabric,' effectively re-imagining 'architecture and landscape as coextensive rather than as emblems of culture and nature juxtaposed.'¹⁹ Similarly, the external spaces of the museum contributed spatially and symbolically to the representation of an Australian national identity. This imagery did not replicate the romantic bushland aesthetic of the earlier Yarramundi scheme, but instead referenced cultural relationships to land, encompassing the political, contested, romantic and aesthetic.

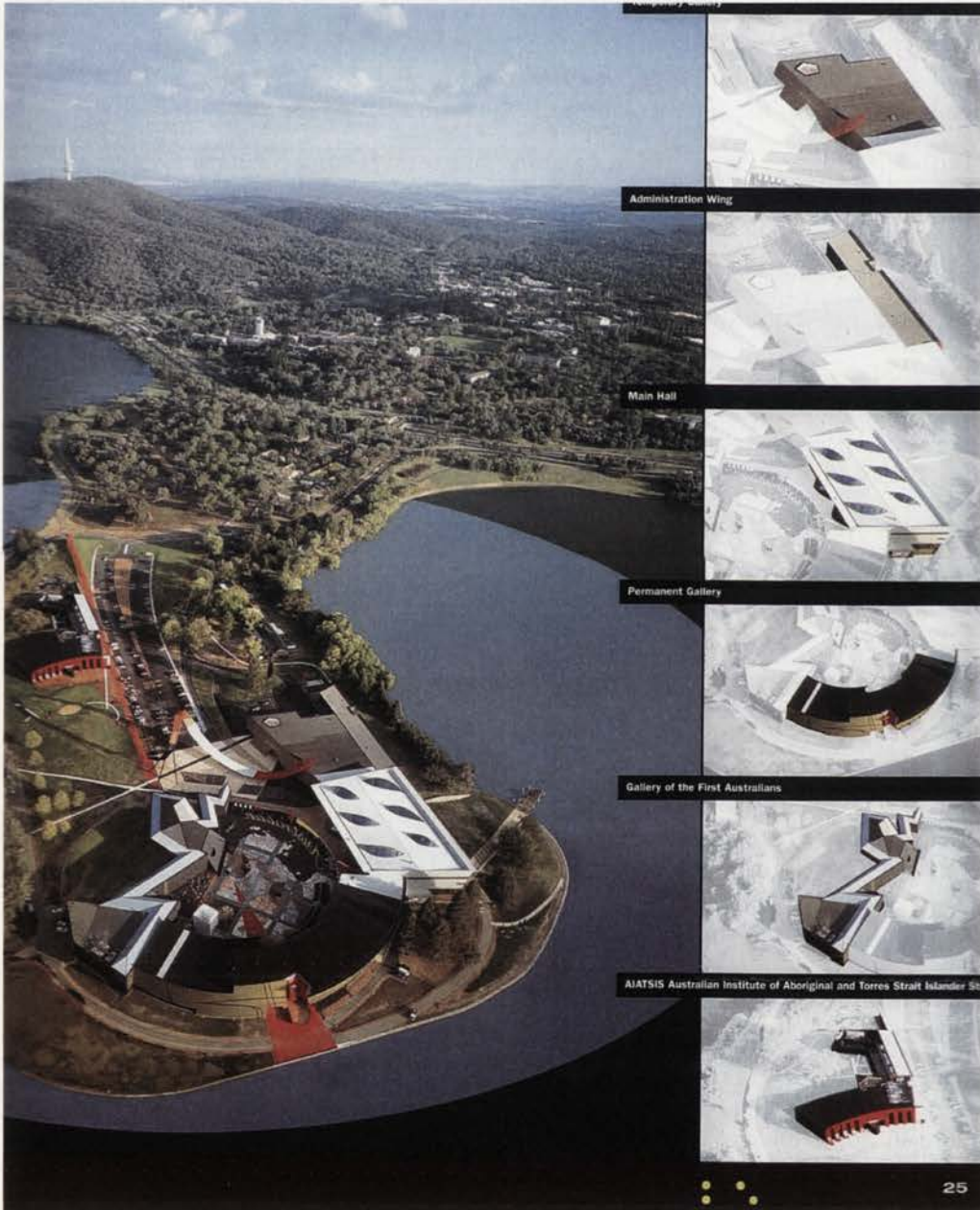


Figure 41 Aerial Image of National Museum of Australia (Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia, ed. Dimity Reed, Australia : The Images Publishing Group, p. 25.)

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 129.



Figure 42 View of The Garden of Australian Dreams [ap]

This approach to the external spaces is best demonstrated in the central courtyard known as the Garden of Australian Dreams, designed by landscape architects Room 4.1.3. Designers Richard Weller and Vladimir Sitta continued the strategies of fragmentation, copying and collage to produce an imagined national landscape derived from the many ways that the Australian landscape had been mapped, painted and recorded. In a gesture similar to ARM's allegorical entanglement of Canberra's major organizational axes, the major generator for the Garden emerged from the overlaying of two cartographic representations of landscape – the 'Great Australian Dream' represented by a standard English map of Australia that revealed no trace of Aboriginal presence, and 'Aboriginal Dreaming' symbolised through Horton's map of the linguistic boundaries of indigenous Australia. These collaged maps established a spatial order that according to Weller referenced the 'difficult but nonetheless shared cartography,' between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.²⁰

This overlaying of the two maps provided a spatial and intellectual intersection for constructing an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural representation of a national landscape, offering a platform for recording multiple processes, events and meanings that crossed science, art, popular culture and history. These references extended beyond the courtyard into the spaces surrounding the museum. For example, a monumental giant loop (Figure

²⁰ Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams." p.78.

43) swooped thirty metres above the museum, before being re-invented as a red concrete path running along the length of the car park. Considered by the designers to represent a 'forgotten axis,' this concrete line projected imaginatively towards Uluru, aiming to establish a 'conversation' between 'Australia's sacred centre' and 'the nation's political and bureaucratic centre.'²¹ The external spaces surrounding the museum therefore expose visitors to a cryptic array of symbols and references well before entering the museum proper. As with ARM's architecture, the landscape operates as an exhibition in its own right.



Figure 43 Museum entrance featuring the giant 'feed back' loop [ap]

Architecture as Exhibition

ARM's museum was promoted as an eclectic puzzle for the public (and government) to uncover and decipher. The most controversial aspect of the design proved to be ARM's signature exploration of simulacrum, hyperrealism and translation. Major architectural elements, spaces and forms were generated from 'copies' of significant examples of modernist architecture including the columned 'pilotis' of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye, the bay windows of the Sydney Opera House and, in a provocative gesture, the incorporation of the footprint of Daniel Libeskind's Jewish museum within The Gallery of First Australians. Art critic Conrad Hamann observed that the fabric of the museum itself formed 'a museum of Architecture – drawn partly from Australia and partly from the general experience of Modern architecture's world history.'²² Cultural references and symbols—encompassing the light hearted and serious, humorous and political, popular

²¹ Ibid.p. 75.

²² Hamann, "Enigma Variations: The National Museum of Australia and Aiatsis Centre." p.8.

culture and major historical moments, the cryptic and literal—were further layered throughout the architectural form. These references were not hidden but rather were openly acknowledged, to be discovered and deciphered by architecturally-literate viewers on the museum's completion.

Jencks observed that 'quotation marks are not only out in the open, thus disarming charges of theft, but applied to a heterogeneity of high and low sources, thus implying a unity of different tastes and ethnic groups.'²³ The literalness of the copying within the architecture and external space offended many critics who claimed the approach as nothing more than 'post-modern pastiche.' Art critic Tim Bonyhady commented that '[p]erhaps no other major Australian public building attempts such crass symbolism.'²⁴ Architecture critic Peter Ward viewed the design as an 'enigmatic theme park' conceived as 'an elaborate theatrical stage for sometimes chimerical concepts of national identity and an astonishing range of high and low art, kitsch and ephemera.'²⁵ Museum curator John McDonald described the building as 'the architectural equivalent of program music: almost absurdly literal in the way it spells out the museum's connections with the land, history and culture.'²⁶



Figure 44 The Great Hall of the National Museum of Australia [ap]

²³ Jencks, "Constructing a National Identity." p.64.

²⁴ Tim Bonyhady, "Lost in the Loop," *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday March 3 2001. p.10.

²⁵ Peter Ward, "Enigmatic Theme Park," *The Australian*, Friday March 9 2001. p.39.

²⁶ John McDonald, "From There to Eternity," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Sunday, March 10 2001. Spectrum, p.12

Apart from The Gallery of First Australians, no dedicated galley spaces were nominated within the competition brief, allowing ARM to pursue their dynamic spatial explorations within the exhibition spaces. Advancements in computer modelling aided the visualisation, and most importantly, the construction of complex spatial forms. The monumental Great Hall, the first internal space encountered by visitors, was envisaged as the ‘negative space’ of the absent Boolean knot, designed as an interweaving of roof and walls to produce an immense ‘white’ space shown in Figure 44. Transforming into a major civic space seating up to 600 people, the Great Hall offers just a momentary pause before visitors enter the permanent gallery spaces.²⁷

ARM’s approach to the galleries completely altered earlier relationships between architecture and exhibition. Where previously clear distinction of space and purpose was privileged, ARM’s galleries were designed as a blur of circulation and exhibition space arranged within a circuitous traverse over three levels. Rather than producing spaces of contemplation, an approach advocated by the discrete and neutral galleries of the modernist museum, the architecture promoted a sense of movement and flow that, according to architecture critic Ross Jenner, ‘blurs distinctions between installation and architecture, exhibiting a composition of parts, codes borrowed from exhibitions, and a conception of the space as “in progress.”’²⁸ There is no doubt that this approach would have appalled Dominion museum director W.R.B. Oliver, who had expressed dismay at the lack of separation in the Dominion’s exhibition halls, arguing that people would be confused by glimpses to surrounding showcases.²⁹ ARM’s gallery spaces were far from separate, instead contributing symbolically and spatially to an interwoven narrative of nation.

Fast tracking

That Australia’s first national museum was constructed as initially conceived is somewhat astonishing, given the compromised outcomes of other major Australian design competitions, most famously Jorn Utzon’s Sydney Opera House.³⁰ While innovative schemes may win competitions, the construction process is often subject to interference and the consequent loss of major architectural features. The deferral of the museum’s

²⁷ National Museum of Australia, *Building History*. p.17.

²⁸ Ross Jenner, "The Palace at 4am," in *Tangled Destinies : National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002). p.106.

²⁹ W.R.B. Oliver, *New Zealand Museums: Present Establishment and Future Policy* (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1944). p.20.

³⁰ Utzon resigned during the construction of his competition winning scheme amongst controversy including budget over runs, completion dates and control over the design of the project.

construction throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, however, created an imperative to fast-track the museum to be ready in time for the 2001 Centenary of Federation celebrations. This hurried delivery protected the design from internal scrutiny, with construction beginning just two years after the 1997 design competition. In a first for architecture, the project delivery system Alliance was used to guide the construction, a system that originated in large infrastructural projects.³¹ Under the Alliance system, all parties involved in the museum's construction were jointly responsible for cost, design integrity, quality and time. Critically, the construction process included a design integrity review panel, charged with maintaining the 'intellectual and physical persistence of and manifestation of the design concept.'³² Significantly, a loss of design integrity would incur profit loss for all of those involved in the museum's construction.

Fast-tracking and the Alliance system provided little opportunity for hesitation or design review in the countdown to the Centenary of Federation celebrations. While the size of the gallery space was significantly reduced from the 10,000 square metres originally envisaged in the competition brief to just 6,600 square metres, the architectural agendas remained somewhat protected from major critique until after its completion.³³ For example, ARM's referencing of Libeskind's Jewish Museum within the Gallery of First Australians was not raised publicly until June 2000 when journalist Anne Susskind produced an article for *The Bulletin*.³⁴ Following this 'outing,' Keith Windshuttle called for the reconstruction of the gallery to 'remove the current connection between the fate of the Aborigines and the fate of the Jews of Europe,' but by this time it was too late.³⁵ Unlike an exhibition where an offending artefact can easily be removed, it is far more difficult and costly to alter symbolism within architectural fabric. Not all of ARM's references were immune to change. According to media report, a Braille message on the external façade was apparently edited prior to opening day to alter its message of 'sorry,' a reference to Prime Minister John Howard's refusal to apologise to the Stolen Generation.³⁶

³¹ Under the Alliance system all parties involved in museum's construction were jointly responsible for cost, design integrity, quality and time. This was the first time that the system had been used on a building, emerging from the management of larger infrastructural projects such as the construction of oil rigs.

³² Keniger, "Intended to Provoke Curiosity." p. 52.

³³ Construction Coordination Committee, "Design Competition Stage One Briefing." p.6.

³⁴ See Anne Susskind, "Footprints in the Quicksand," *The Bulletin* (2000).

³⁵ Keith Windschuttle, "Submission to the Review of the National Museum of Australia," ed. National Museum of Australia Review secretariat (Canberra: 2003).

³⁶ Miranda Devine, "Disclosed at Last, the Embedded Messages That Adorn Museum," *The Sun-Herald*, April 2 2006. p. 15.

Bicultural Architecture

In comparison, the design and construction of Te Papa had a much longer design development process, given that, most controversially, the winning scheme for the competition was considered only a starting point for the museum's design. After winning the design competition, Auckland architects Jasmox spent a further two years developing the museum's design in close association with an exhibition team. The representation of biculturalism and the tripartite thematic of Tangata Whenua, Tangata Tiriti and Papatuanuku were central to Jasmox's winning scheme for Te Papa,³⁷ but the spatial and symbolic attributes of the original scheme were altered considerably during the design development phase. During this so-called integrated development period, which incorporated architects and the exhibition team, major features of the winning design were lost rather than strengthened. Most notably, the ceremonial concourse referred to as Papa Watea, which provided a key symbolic space of mediation between Maori and pakeha display spaces as well as between the museum and harbour, was removed in preference for an internalised interpretive core. As a consequence the final design emerged as a monumental built form that, like its predecessor the Dominion Museum, reinforced rather than challenged binaries of architecture and landscape, nature and culture.

According to architect Pete Bossley, Jasmox were 'determined to express, at the very heart of the building rather than at the level of decoration, the differences between the two cultures, and the common ground of conservation between them.'³⁸ The conception of an appropriate symbolic and spatial relationship between the two dominant cultures formed the major design generator. Unlike ARM's metaphoric entanglement that made no distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, Jasmox's relationship was carefully structured to both preserve and respect cultural differences between Maori and pakeha while 'promoting a common ground between them.'³⁹ Twin strategies of delineation and encounter featured in Jasmox's architectural interpretation of biculturalism, a relationship evident in the conceptual diagram shown in Figure 45.

³⁷ Judges included American architect Professor Joseph Esherick, Australian architect Richard Thorp, Canadian Museum Director George MacDonald, New Zealanders Lady Api Mahuika, Ihakara Puketapu and Dr John Hunt of the University of Auckland.

³⁸ Bossley, *Te Papa: An Architectural Adventure*. p. 8.

³⁹ Jasmox Architects, "Developed Design Report Vol. 1 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1992).Section 2, p.1.

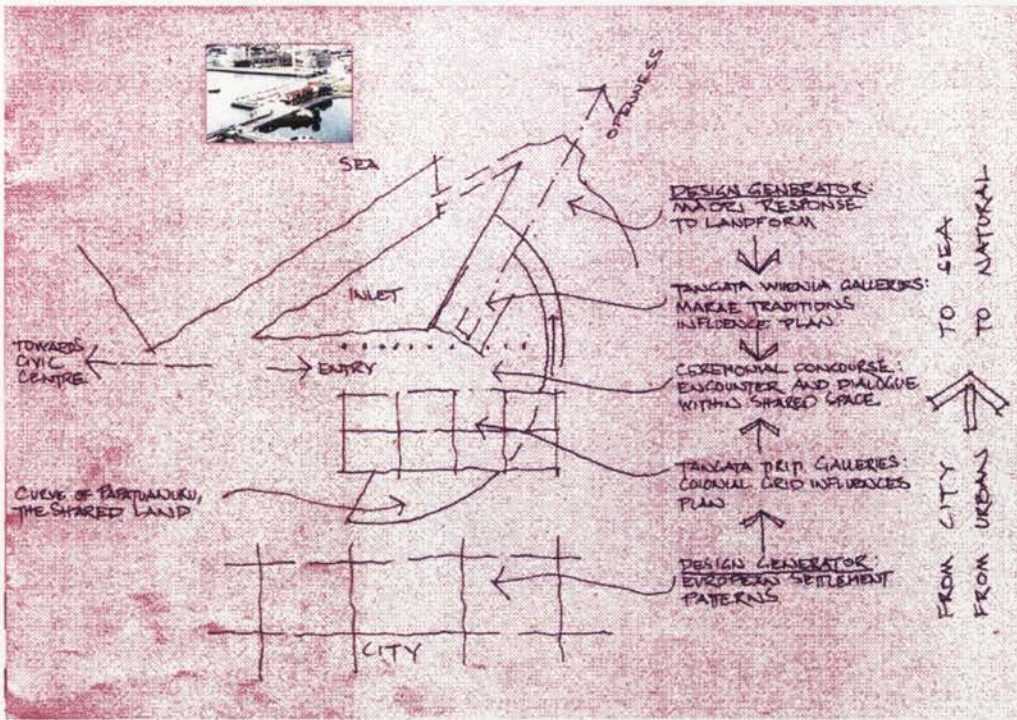


Figure 45 Jasmx's Original Competition Concept (Pete Bossley Te Papa: an architectural adventure, Wellington Te Papa Press)

Grid versus Nature

Land settlement patterns of Maori and pakeha formed the starting point, a position that shares similarities with ARM's referencing of the Griffins' organisational axes for the design of Canberra. Where ARM disrupted the formality of Beaux Arts planning to produce an integration of landscape and architecture, Jasmx maintained colonial settlement patterns as the foundations for the museum imagery, thereby distinguishing narratives of colonial order from an organic indigenous nature. Tangata Tiriti exhibits were positioned adjacent to the street frontage, arranged in an urban grid that the architects considered typified 'the way Europeans settled the new colony.'⁴⁰ Bossley explained further,

It's more than a simple structure, or the representation of the streets of Wellington. It's about the fantastic mathematical and scientific power of the three-dimensional nature of the grid, which has helped European society explain the world.⁴¹

The Tangata Whenua exhibition areas and the Marae were oriented towards the open harbour and rising sun, in a reference to the siting traditions of marae. At its most basic, this configuration reflects a binary of nature and culture in opposition, positioning Europeans as controlling and ordering the landscape in contrast to Maori who were positioned with an affinity to land. In fact it was the relationship between these reductionist

⁴⁰ Bossley, *Te Papa: An Architectural Adventure*. p.8.

⁴¹ Architecture New Zealand, "Museum-Interview," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Sept/Oct (1992). p. 41.

spatial configurations that was critical to the symbolism and function of the museum, and which was expressed in the competition entry as a ceremonial concourse referred to as a Papa Watea or the Great Veranda, shown in Figure 46.

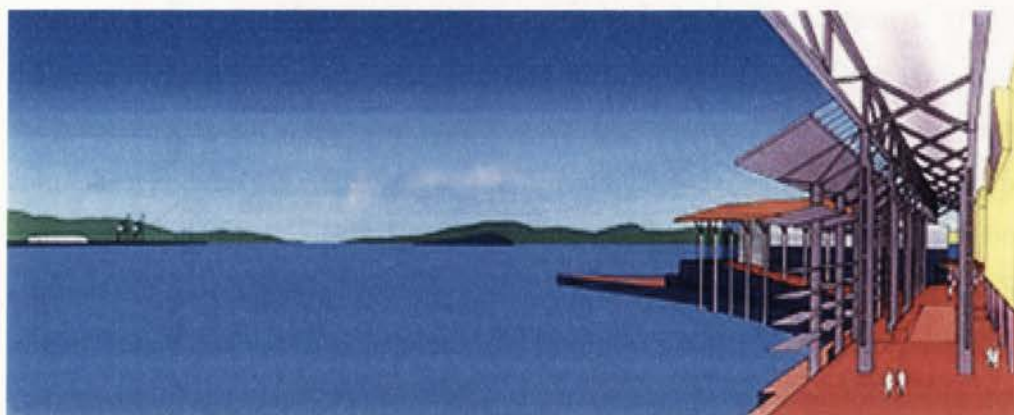


Figure 46 The Great Veranda (www.jasmax.com)

This monumental five story high glazed entry into the museum was conceived of as a critical space of encounter, 'a common ground suggestive of ongoing dialogue' between the delineated cultural spaces of Maori and pakeha.⁴² The subsequent loss of the Papa Watea during design development in favour of an internalised core drastically altered the architecture's underlying symbolism, the museum's relationship to the surrounding urban spaces and the harbour, and the massing of the architecture. An interpretive core, envisaged by the exhibition planners as the 'ihonui' or heart of the museum, required an extensive redesign of the competition design. Rising vertically through the six floors of the museum, the core was planned as a major organisational space to connect earth and sky symbolically. Over 10,000m² of gallery space was planned around the core, divided into three types of exhibition zones – designated curatorial space, shared spaces and integrated spaces for the collaborative use of departments.⁴³

Redesign of the architecture to accommodate the ihonui resulted in the realignment of the museum's entrance to the southeast, as well as the reworking of the symbolic and spatial relationship between the Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti exhibition spaces. Rather than entering through a symbolic space of encounter, the ihonui was internalised within what architectural critic Stuart Niven described as the 'black box' of the museum.⁴⁴ The museum

⁴² Bossley, "Concepts in Culture." p.19.

⁴³ Bossley, "Redirect, Redevelop." p.22.

⁴⁴ Niven, "Bicultural Condition at Museum's Heart." p.36.

was transformed into a consolidated mass, working against the architect's intent for the museum to sit 'within' rather than 'on' the landscape.⁴⁵

Geological Foundations

A further two new architectural elements were subsequently devised. An earlier emphasis on 'encounter' was transformed into the idea of a 'cleaved' or 'wedged' space but rather than forming the major structural and symbolic space of the museum, as intended by the Papa Watea, the 'cleaved space' was relegated to Level Four, located between the two major cultural history exhibits of Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti. This relationship is indicated in the revised concept drawing depicted in Figure 47. The designers considered this new space as both a separation and a link between the two adjacent cultural spaces, 'thereby expressing the shifting nature of the relationship between the two cultures in a process of continual redefinition.'⁴⁶ Secondly, a monumental four-metre thick wall was designed bisecting the museum east-west, an element that emphasised the spatial flow 'from land to sea and from urban to natural' as well as operating as a major circulation element throughout the building.⁴⁷

Orientation of the wall paralleled an intersecting line of tectonic plates of Pacific Plate and the Australian Plate, considered a major generator of New Zealand's mountainous topography.⁴⁸ Bossley explained,

[A]t the larger scale it is clarifying notions about the structure of the country – the big diagonal wall that parallels the major geological directions of the North Island, and the power of the geological growth and youth of the country.⁴⁹

This geological 'backbone' also referenced 'the mythical pathway between New Zealand and Hawaiki that is ubiquitous in Maori culture,' thereby metaphorically connecting the bounded nation-state of New Zealand to a Polynesian sense of identity, extending past political and physical boundaries of nation into the Pacific, while also referencing the geological instability of the environment.⁵⁰ In scale reminiscent of the Dominion Museum, Te Papa's façade (Figure 48) was dominated by the monumental geological 'fault line' that dwarfed the museum's entrance structure, which was designed as a reference to a Maori whareniui.

⁴⁵ Jasmax Architects, "Developed Design Report Vol. 1 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa." Sections 24 & 25, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Bossley, *Te Papa: An Architectural Adventure*. p.10.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p.10.

⁴⁸ Linzey, "The Point of Te Papa." p. 231.

⁴⁹ Architecture New Zealand, "Museum-Interview." p. 41

⁵⁰ Linzey, "The Point of Te Papa." p. 230.

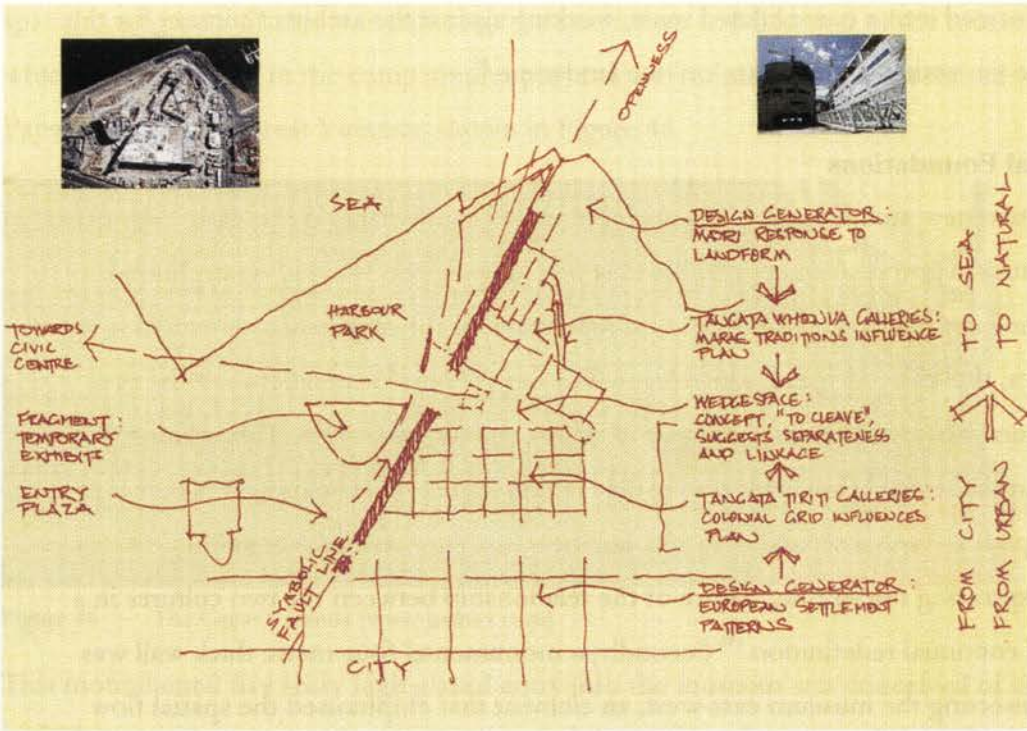


Figure 47 The Developed Concept (Pete Bossley Te Papa: an architectural adventure, Wellington: Te Papa Press)



Figure 48 Front elevation of Te Papa. (Postcard Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

This showcasing of the fault line reflects clearly the different conceptualisations of nature and nation within the Jasmx and ARM schemes. Jasmx's design overwhelmingly referenced a scientific 'environment' devoid of cultural interactions, an emphasis that revisits Te Papa's origins in the Colonial Museum and the Geological Survey of New Zealand. Apart from references to the siting traditions of the marae, references to a cultural landscape were absent. Architectural critic Mike Linzey concluded 'It is as if the building had been intended to be a teaching aid for a geology lesson, or as if the architect was

earnestly trying to explain in scientific terms how New Zealand was shaped and formed by tectonic forces.⁵¹



Figure 49 View of the Te Papa's Marae looking north over the harbour [ap]

This geological reference extended into the massing of the architecture itself that during the course of design development came to resemble an artificial headland adjacent to the harbour. Architecture as landform was further reinforced by the adjacent external spaces. To the north, a separate entrance to the Marae (shown in Figure 49) was designed through a tilting plane of coastal native planting. To the east, the external exhibition area of Bush City introduced a coastal vegetation transect between the architecture and the waterfront.

Design by Committee

Te Papa's extended development phase was paralleled by a dispersed design critique, which began with the initial competition in 1990, produced further commentary following the release of the revised scheme in 1992, and culminated in publication of critique on the museum as it was presented on opening day. Unveiling of the revised design in May 1992, two years after the design competition, generated the most heated response from both the public and the architectural profession. To many, the scheme was considered boring and a failure as a national icon.⁵² In a provocative gesture, advertising company Saatchi and Saatchi proposed an alternative—a giant paua-shaped building—arguing that Jasmx's

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 229.

⁵² See Mary Varnham, "Museum of Nz -an Opportunity Lost," *Evening Post* 1992,p.6, Tommy Honey, "A Question of Design," *Evening Post*, August 26 1998. p.18.

design failed as a symbol for New Zealand.⁵³ An *Evening Post* newspaper survey of 400 people found that 95% wanted the design shelved.⁵⁴ Such negative response prompted further design adjustments. More sculptural elements were incorporated into the architecture, including a sail roof over Cable Street, a barrel-vault roof over the ihonui space, and the extension of the fault line wall further into the museum plaza.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, these additions were considered by most critics as nothing more than ‘tampering and tinkering.’⁵⁵

Following the museum’s completion, the response was muffled. Unlike the frenzy of critique recorded in newspapers and architectural journals following the opening of the National Museum of Australia, few critics publicly commented on Te Papa’s architecture. Five months after the opening, the editor of *Architecture New Zealand* called on architects to publicly articulate their views, stating in an editorial ‘If, as there seems to be, there is a significant divide in the architectural opinion on Te Papa...why is everyone so shy about what they think?’⁵⁶

Construction processes had a significant impact on these architectural outcomes. Fast-tracking and the use of the Alliance system in the construction of the National Museum of Australia provided little opportunity for design review, and as a result the final architecture closely mirrors the competition entry. The long development period of Te Papa following the design competition led to major changes in the symbolic and spatial attributes of the original scheme, and initial architectural ideas were altered to accommodate exhibition agendas.

The contrast in responses to the designs was mirrored by their respective success in architectural awards. ARM’s design attracted extensive attention, both celebratory and critical, including the International Blueprint Architecture Award for the Best New Public Building in 2001 and a Merit award for Outstanding Architecture by the Royal Australia Institute of Architects in 2002.⁵⁷ While ARM’s scheme was equally praised and demonized for its originality and boldness, praise for Jasmx’s design was limited to its ‘high level of

⁵³ Suzanne Chetwin, "Advertising Men Challenge Museum Design," *Evening Post* 1992. p.1.

⁵⁴ Annette Finnegan, "Museum Design Modified," *Evening Post* 1992. p.1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 6.

⁵⁶ Steve Bohling, "Pub(Lic) Forum," *Architecture New Zealand* May/June (1998). p.4.

⁵⁷ Other awards for the National Museum of Australia include a Merit Award for Outstanding Architecture 2002 from the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, National New Commercial Building Award from the Masters Builders Association 2001 and Industry Innovation and Product Delivery Award from the Australian Institute of Steel Construction 2001.

technical and construction proficiency' and commitment to the 'client and curatorial demands'⁵⁸ Tellingly, Te Papa's architecture was only considered worthy of a New Zealand Institute of Architects Regional Award, presented in 1999.

Dialogue versus Delineation

Two major differences are apparent in the manner in which the architects adopted concepts of landscape and environment as a means to 'naturalise' the new political constructions of nation. ARM presented a framing of landscape as principally cultural, compared with Jasmx's representation of landscape as scientific environment. The National Museum of Australia was designed as an interweaving of architectural and landscape spaces, whereas Te Papa presented a monumental architectural form surrounded by external space. On one level, these contrasting representations of a cultural landscape and scientific environment could be easily dismissed as nothing more than the individual interpretation of designers. However, review of the exhibition programme, the focus of the second part of this chapter, reveals the continuation of these representations, suggesting that they reflect a deeper cultural attitude towards nature and nation in postcolonial Australia and New Zealand.

Review of the exhibition programme requires crossing between the disciplinary boundaries of architecture and exhibition design to explore how the revised political and intellectual frameworks encompassing nature, nation and the new museum were expressed in the exhibition thematic of the museums as originally presented. Few critiques of either museum transcend this disciplinary demarcation to explore the architectural and exhibition design in any detail, a surprising situation given the emphasis within concept documents on the interweaving of architecture and exhibition themes. Walker and Clark's essay 'Museum and the Archive: Framing the Treaty' offers a rare example of examining the representation of the Treaty of Waitangi within the architectural design and displays of Te Papa.⁵⁹ Equally remarkable is the limited academic attention focused on the revised positioning of nature within the museums, despite its prominence within the intellectual frameworks. Critique for both museums has focused predominantly on the display of new national identities and the revised framings of indigenous culture⁶⁰ or the impact of the 'new museum.'⁶¹

⁵⁸ Jury citation, *Architecture New Zealand* May-June (1999), p. 38.

⁵⁹ Paul Walker and Justine Clark, "Museum and Archive: Framing the Treaty," in *On Display: New Essays in Cultural Studies*, ed. Anna Smith and Lydia Weaver (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004), pp.162-179.

⁶⁰ See Ben Dibley, "Museum, Native, Nation: Museological Narrative and Postcolonial National Identity Formation" (Masters of Arts, University of Auckland, 1996), James Gore, "Representation of History and Nation in Museums in

Some scholars have included consideration of the representation of landscape and environment as part of their analysis of national identity or national history. For example, Paul Williams' analysis of cultural practices at Te Papa features a critical review of the museum's representation of land and place. This critique however is shaped primarily by national identity, a perspective that considers displays as indicators of biculturalism and an interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi. Consideration of factors beyond national identity that might inform displays engaging with environment and nature, notably the influence of scientific perspectives, is absent. This approach to the examination of nature, nation and the new museum differs from William's in two important ways. Rather than interpreting displays as pure expressions of national identity, this approach acknowledges that the displays reflect multiple influences including science, education and technology as well as nationalism. Secondly, this analysis is contextualised in relationship to the genealogy of display practice established in Chapter One and in connection to the intellectual intentions expressed in the museum statements discussed in Chapter Three.

As with the architectural design, Te Papa's exhibition thematic differed significantly from the 'Day 1' Exhibition concept. Major strategies for creating new dialogues between culture and nature, such as the environmental history People and the Land and the ihonui (which was so influential in prompting the redesign of the architecture) were absent from the museum when it opened. In contrast, the exhibition thematic of the National Museum of Australia reflected the intentions of the concept documents to present an interweaving of people, land and nation. Environmental history was showcased, developed as the first permanent exhibition.

I argue that the absence of Te Papa's major environmental history exhibit and the ihonui owes much to the heightened role of the museum as an active agent in identity construction. In the case of Te Papa, this repositioning of the museum, combined with the

Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand - the National Museum of Australia and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, The University of Melbourne, 2002), Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007), Lorenzo Veracini and Adrian Muckle, "Reflections of Indigenous History inside the National Museums of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand and Outside of New Caledonia's Centre Culturel Jean -Marie Tjibaou," *The Electronic Journal of Australian and New Zealand history*, Paul Williams, "New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (PhD, Melbourne University, 2003).

⁶¹ See Amiria Henare, "Rewriting the Script: Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand," *Social Analysis* Spring, no. 48 (2004), Kylie Message, "Exhibiting Visual Culture: Narrative, Perception and the New Museum" (Ph.D, The University of Melbourne, 2002), Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford, UK; NY, NY: Berg, 2006), Kylie Message, "Representing Cultural Diversity in a Global Context: The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the National Museum of Australia" (2005), Anna Neill, "National Culture and the New Museology," in *On Display: New Essays in Cultural Studies*, ed. Anna Smith & Lydia Wevers (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004).

intention to present interwoven histories of people and environment, created conflict between a national landscape image founded on notions of superiority and the scientific realities of extensive and rapid ecological modification. At the National Museum of Australia both positive and negative environmental narratives were showcased, a difference that can be explained by the closer alignment in the Australian case between national landscape image and environmental realities. But this is not to suggest that the National Museum of Australia avoided tension. The ‘national’ mandate led to the delineation of a ‘national’ history and autonomous indigenous galleries, which provoked reactionary claims that the museum glamorised and respected Aboriginal life while denigrating European culture.

A Pristine Nature

In principle, Te Papa’s extended development period provided the opportunity for a far closer integration of architectural and exhibition program than the fast-tracked National Museum of Australia. Nevertheless, as with the architectural design, major aims and displays identified in the museum concept documents were absent. Key displays aimed at promoting dialogue between nature and culture were absent, notably the central interpretative space of the ihonui and the environmental history exhibit *People and the Land*. Ambitions to include Maori and pakeha perspectives within the environmental displays were also not realised. Consequently, an unpeopled environment formed the dominant representation of nature within Te Papa’s exhibition thematic, a framing that matched themes and symbolism established in Jasmax’s architectural design. Although presented with a new emphasis on interactivity and visitor experience, these displays maintained earlier framings of the Colonial and Dominion Museum that demarcated ‘cultural’ and ‘natural’ views of the world.

As planned, the first of Te Papa’s permanent displays commenced on Level Two with the Papatuanuku exhibits, shown in Figure 50. Counter to the intentions of the concept documents, these displays overwhelmingly featured western ‘scientific’ aspects of the New Zealand environment. *Awesome Forces* detailed geology and natural processes that shaped and transformed New Zealand, *Mountains to the Sea* displayed typical New Zealand ecological habitats, and *Bush City* presented a transect of coastal ecology. The exception was the multi-media presentation *Papatuanuku* that offered a glimpse of Maori understandings of the creation of New Zealand’s environment.

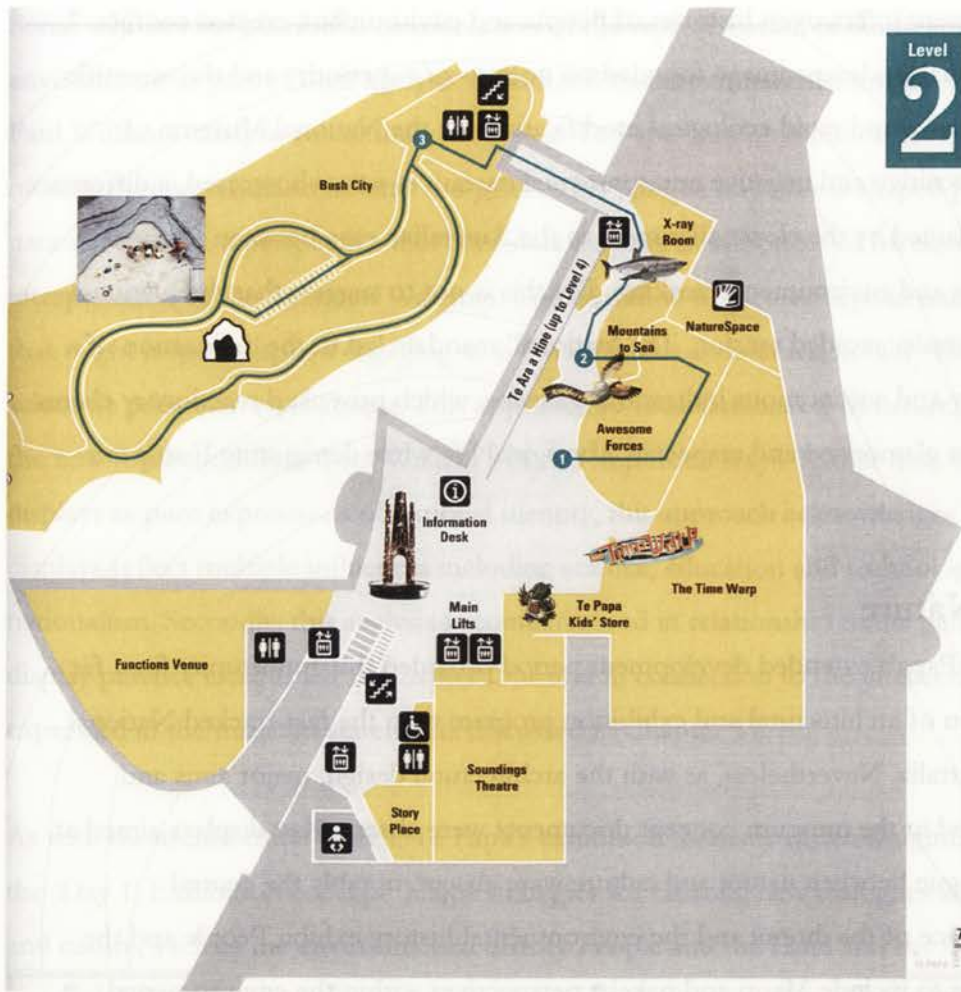


Figure 50 Plan of Level Two showing the Papatuanuku Displays (Te Papa Explorer, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, p. 11.)

Interactive Processes

Awesome Forces shared the Colonial Museum's focus on the geology of New Zealand. Unlike Hector's taxonomic display of fossils and geological specimen, this knowledge was showcased through interactive display techniques rather than artefact. Knowledge understood through the physical interaction between the visitor and display represents a major departure from earlier taxonomy-driven displays of natural history where information was restricted to what could be seen by the naked eye. While later displays of evolutionary science and ecology included textual narratives and diagrams to make apparent the 'invisible' processes and relationships, interactivity demonstrates scientific processes, principles and phenomena.⁶² Accordingly, the role of display changed from the exhibition of material culture to 'being about something,' communicated through interactive displays and experiments that demystified the world of science.

⁶² The human biology exhibit that opened at the British Museum of Natural History in 1971 was an influential precedent for the communication of scientific concepts and processes, controversially displaying only one item from the collection item.



Figure 51 Walk into the centre of the earth, Awesome Forces [ap]

These interactive display principles featured prominently in Awesome Forces. Beginning with a giant 'walk-in' representation of the Earth, shown in Figure 51, Awesome Forces highlighted the dynamic natural processes that continue to shape New Zealand's environment. Many displays offered no artefacts, instead portraying knowledge through interactive displays, diagrams, images and text, often presenting deep time geological processes relative to human perception. For example, Christchurch's slow but recordable rate of geological movement was contextualized relative to the growth rate of people as depicted in the display shown in Figure 52. A simulated shaking house, one of the most popular displays, provided a bodily experience of the destructive force of the 1987 Edgecumbe earthquake. Other displays used multimedia to depict visually the powerful processes of volcanic eruptions such as the 1995-96 eruption of Mt Ruapehu.⁶³ In contrast to Hector's encyclopaedic displays at the Colonial Museum, artefact was limited to selected evidence of New Zealand's uniqueness such as dinosaur finds, fossils and unique fauna such as the moa, tuatara and weta.

⁶³ Des Griffin, Chris Saines, and T L Rodney Wilson, "Ministry for Culture and Heritage Report of Specific Issues Relating to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2000). pp. 20-21.



Figure 52 Measuring New Zealand's geological shift, Awesome Forces [ap]

The dynamic and interactive approaches of Awesome Forces attracted many visitors, leading concept leader Geoff Hicks to declare the exhibit 'without doubt the most popular exhibition in Te Papa.'⁶⁴ This popularity was matched by commendation from Te Papa's first official review, released in 2000, which praised Awesome Forces for 'sound intellectual content combined with a high level of interactivity.'⁶⁵ The dioramas of Mountains to the Sea did not receive such positive reviews: the pursuit of an immersive museum experience combined with the demand to be representative of the nation led to the loss of scientific accuracy.

A National Ecology

Two types of diorama were developed for Mountains to the Sea that together featured over 2500 specimens of flora and fauna. Although interactive and engaging, the specific visual practices of science that informed the ecological dioramas of the earlier museums were weakened in both approaches. These exhibits attempted to present 'national' landscapes rather than scientific ecologies of specific places. The first diorama presented six 'typical' New Zealand habitats of alpine, bush, freshwater, coastal, open-ocean and deep sea displayed in large glass-fronted cabinets. The generality of this approach revisits the landscape displays of the International Exhibitions, which contextualized specimens against a painted panoramic landscape backdrop to create the illusion of spatial depth and context.

⁶⁴ Geoff Hicks, "Natural History in the Environmental Age," in National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001). p. 185.

⁶⁵ Griffin, Saines, and Wilson, "Ministry for Culture and Heritage Report of Specific Issues Relating to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa." p.20.

The second diorama, shown in Figure 53, produced an even more abstract representation of the natural world, designed as a ‘stage set’ forest that combined ‘real specimens’ with fabricated replicas of trees including beech, kauri and rata trees. The experience was heightened by audio and lighting that contributed sound and atmosphere to the ‘forest.’ On opening day the exhibition included three costumed characters of the weta, takahe and tuatara to entertain and guide visitors. This theatrical experience displayed specimens without any specific ecological relationships to place and was subsequently deemed by the museum’s review as being too ‘simplistic.’⁶⁶



Figure 53 Stage set dioramas, Mountains to the Sea
(www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/WhatsOn/LongTermExhibitions/)

Bush City offered a further reinterpretation of the diorama, designed as an immersive experience of a ‘living’ transect of New Zealand ecology. As shown in Figure 54, Bush City was linked to the Papatuanuku exhibits via a covered bridge that deposited visitors into a coastal rainforest. Visitors then proceeded along a raised boardwalk that passed through a series of ‘iconic’ New Zealand habitats including manuka-kanuka scrub, coastal rainforest, the open volcanic plateau of the Desert Road, and totara forests. Recreated limestone caves complete with glow worms, ‘real’ boulders, and replica greywacke walls depicted the underlying geology of ecological habitats. Interactivity was encouraged: children were invited to become a ‘palaeontologist’ and dig for fossils in a sand pit or discover the real moa bones found in the sink holes of the recreated limestone caves. A wetland display

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.21.

completed this ecological transect, before visitors re-entered the museum on the ground floor.



Figure 54 View of Bush City from Te Papa (Post card Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

Of all three dioramas, Bush City provided the most detailed ecological information. A series of interpretive panels throughout the garden offered narration of plants, geology and ecology, supplemented by a more detailed guide book available for purchase, which includes the map shown in Figure 55. Bush City as constructed, however, does not fulfil the original intention to ‘reveal human perspectives of the land and biota.’⁶⁷ While interpretation material dates the landscape as a recreation of the Wellington foreshore 200 years ago, Bush City could equally be a representation of 1,000 years ago, given the minimal representation of Maori or pakeha interaction with the landscape. The dominant representation remains one of ‘pristine’ ecosystems, replicating the unpeopled ecologies of the Mountain to the Sea dioramas.

⁶⁷ Geoff Hicks, "Landscape Conceptual Plan," (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1993). p.4.



Figure 55 Map from *A Guide to Bush City* (Te Papa Press, 1998. pp. 24-25.)

The only cultural perspective of the natural world presented among the Papatuanuku displays was offered by the multimedia presentation of the same name that features a Maori creation story of Aotearoa. Squeezed into a small corridor between *Awesome Forces* and *Mountains to the Sea* this multimedia presentation described the separation of Ranganui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) by Tane Mahuta, the god of the forests and birds. This act of separation produced the world of earth and sky encompassing flora, fauna and Maori, and established an integral connection between nature and humans. The original concept plans, however, aimed to incorporate science and Maori paradigm within a common framework rather than within separate displays.⁶⁸ Initially, parallel or dual storylines were explored for *Awesome Forces*, juxtaposing perspectives from Maori 'lore' with scientific understandings of environment.⁶⁹ Plate margin volcanism was to have included text panels reading:

Ruaumoko was suckling the Earth Mother when she turned to face down. Hence he never emerged into the upper world or saw the light of day. He makes war against humankind and conspires whiro to destroy them. It is by earthquakes and all volcanic phenomena that he assails us.

Subduction zone magma is intermediate andesitic material that forms the basis of the large central North Island volcanoes.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Museum of New Zealand Te Marae Taonga O Aotearoa, "Summary Report of Exhibition Meetings Vol. 1 Report," in *MU 476* (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Marae Taonga O Aotearoa, 1989).p. 41.

⁶⁹ Hicks, "Natural History in the Environmental Age." p.189.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 189.

According to curator Geoff Hicks, front-end evaluation revealed that this approach was considered confusing, resulting in the stand-alone approach that separated Maori and western perspectives. Consequently, the Papatuanuku displays, while offering an immersive and interactive visitor experience, do not fulfil the original intellectual intentions to present a peopled environment. There is minimal representation of cultural perspectives within the ecological displays, and Maori and scientific understandings of the environment are isolated. The Papatuanuku displays point to the influence of the museum's 'new' national mandate on environmental display to shift emphasis from ecological specificity to national representativeness. The dominant representation of a pristine nature was heightened by the absence of the planned ihonui and the environmental history exhibit *People and Land* from the opening day exhibition program, both of which were originally conceived as important areas of 'dialogue' for exploring the New Zealand environment.

Absent Intersections

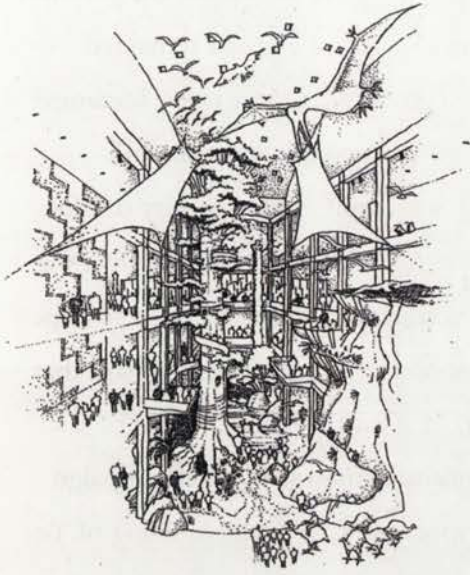
Level Two should have provided the first experience of the ihonui space. The actual constructed space offered little evidence of the vibrant interpretative core outlined in museum concept documents. Instead, as shown in Figure 56, the ihonui, so influential in the redesign of Jasmac's competition entry, offered nothing more than a darkened void. Even the symbolism of linking sky and earth was lost following the decision to roof over rather than glaze the space, in order to restrict light into the museum.⁷¹ Moving to Level Three, visitors should have encountered the environmental history exhibit *People and the Land*, conceived as a strategic transition between the scientific exhibits of Level Two and the cultural history exhibits of Level Four. As with the ihonui, this key integrated display was lost during the museum's developmental process.

How was it possible that an exhibit considered so pivotal to the intellectual framework of the museum was never realised? While the delivery of the opening exhibition programme was unquestionably influenced by multiple factors including financial and spatial constraints there is evidence to suggest that the content of the environmental history display was controversial. According to concept leader Geoff Hicks, *People and the Land* was a victim of the official view that 'opening day exhibitions should be celebratory of our culture and our natural environment.'⁷² Hicks maintains that 'the contentious view of how bad we had been to our land led, in my opinion, to an institutional timidity that ultimately

⁷¹Giles Reid, "Museo-Logic," *Architecture New Zealand*, no. Special Edition (1998), p.37.

⁷² Hicks, "Natural History in the Environmental Age," p. 188.

saw the People and the Land exhibition stall.⁷³ Hick's speculation reveals a new tension within the museum, namely the representation of a constructed image of the nation as distinct from displays based on disciplinary paradigms. As Paul Williams comments, one of the most unresolved tensions in the new museology is '[t]he issue of balance between the museums' involvement in describing the social and political zeitgeist, and helping to actively decide it.'⁷⁴



CORE / IHONUI



Figure 56 Jasmx's image of ihonui compared to ihonui as constructed (Developed Design, Jasmx Architects, June 1992, Section 6, p. 7.)

The multidisciplinary approach of this study offers evidence for why the display of New Zealand environmental narratives might be considered contentious. An emphasis on the museum as an active agent in identity construction was accompanied by the realignment of representations of nature from an earlier engagement with scientific parameters of ecology and environment to representations of landscape which were aligned with constructions of national identity. Prior to Te Papa, these two constructions of the natural world were never encountered simultaneously within the museum. Representations of the natural world in the Colonial and Dominion Museums focused on New Zealand's scientific environment, including the documentation of the rapidly diminishing flora and fauna. By the late twentieth century over 90% of all wetland habitats were lost, 44 endemic bird species were extinct and native forests were reduced from 78% to 25% of the total land area.⁷⁵ This

⁷³ Ibid. p.188.

⁷⁴ Paul Williams, "A Breach on the Beach: Te Papa and the Fraying of Biculturalism," *Museum and Society* 3, no. 2 (2005). p.83.

⁷⁵ Hicks, "Natural History in the Environmental Age." p. 187.

statistic is remarkable not just for the extent of species loss, but also for the extremely rapid pace of ecological change experienced in New Zealand, a point succinctly articulated by geographer Kenneth Cumberland who stated in 1941 '[w]hat in Europe took 20 centuries and in North America four has been accomplished in New Zealand within a single century.'⁷⁶

The representation of national landscape narratives however remained outside the realm of the scientific knowledge of the museum. Instead a national landscape image remained intertwined with identity construction presented through government strategies, literature and painting, and most influentially the tourist industry. Beginning in the nineteenth century, these constructions emphasised the uniqueness and often the superiority of New Zealand's landscape, representations devised to attract both settlers and tourists. Over the course of the twentieth century, these representations increasingly emphasised a landscape of pristine nature as demonstrated by constructions of wilderness in the national park that shifted from an emphasis on recreation to preservation. This image evolved further throughout the 1990s, culminating in Tourism New Zealand's first-ever global campaign '100% Pure New Zealand.'⁷⁷ Launched in 1999, contemporaneous with the opening of Te Papa, the campaign positioned landscape as the 'brand essence,' projecting an image of New Zealand, its people, environment and experiences as 'untainted, unadulterated, unaffected and undiluted.'⁷⁸

Te Papa's role as an agent of identity construction, combined with the intention to present histories interweaving people and environment created an alignment between landscape identity and ecological reality that had never before been encountered within the museum. I suggest that it is this disparity that provoked the 'institutional timidity' described by Hicks. Together, the absence of the *ihonui* and the *People and the Land* exhibit from the exhibition program, together with a dominant representation of 'pristine' nature within the *Papatuanuku* exhibits, combined to create a major intellectual gap in Te Papa's opening day exhibition thematic. Yet this significant absence has been largely overlooked in academic

⁷⁶ Kenneth C. Cumberland, 'A Century's Change: Natural to Cultural Vegetation in New Zealand', *Geographical Review*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1941, p. 529 cited Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking, "Introduction," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002). p.4.

⁷⁷ Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard, and Rachel Piggott, "New Zealand, 100% Pure: The Creation of a Powerful Niche Destination Brand," *The Journal of Brand Management* 9, no. 4/5 (2002),p.4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p.7.

analysis. Environmental historian John M. MacKenzie offers one of the few commentaries, concluding that 'Te Papa is there to remind Maori and pakeha of the land they have lost.'⁷⁹

Even more surprising is that while the 2000 Museum Review highlighted the absence of exhibits that demonstrated the 'convergence between the land and the peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand,' the review maintained that Te Papa generally achieved the goals articulated in the 1992 concept.⁸⁰ The review concluded that Te Papa operated as 'a forum for the nation,' evident by its popularity as 'the country's most visited and discussed cultural institution.'⁸¹ Yet as Hicks pointed out, the loss of People and the Land 'is a substantive challenge to Te Papa's comprehensive claim to "tell all our stories".'⁸² Instead the majority of academic and media analysis has focused extensively on the cultural history content of Level Four and the display of the National Art Collection presented on Levels Four, Five and Six.⁸³

Whenua versus Nation

Programmatically and symbolically Level Four offered the most direct representation of a bicultural New Zealand. Signs of the Nation formed the centre piece, the only planned integrated display that survived the development process. Designed by the architects for the 'cleaved' space, Signs of the Nation featured a large 'aged' replica of the Treaty of Waitangi suspended from the ceiling, with two equally large text displays of the three Treaty articles, one each in Maori and English, positioned on either side of the space. The cultural history displays of Tangata Tiriti and Mana Whenua were then aligned on opposite sides of the exhibit. As has been highlighted by numerous critiques, this configuration produced a sense of cultural bifurcation, with the cultural history exhibits developed with little historical or cultural overlapping or intertwining.⁸⁴ Avril Bell likens the dual representation to a 'historical amnesia' observing that no 'more than minimal attention

⁷⁹ John M MacKenzie, "People and Landscape: The Environment and National Identities in Museums," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001). p. 177.

⁸⁰ Griffin, Saines, and Wilson, "Ministry for Culture and Heritage Report of Specific Issues Relating to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa." p. 10.

⁸¹ Ibid. p.19.

⁸² Hicks, "Natural History in the Environmental Age." p.186.

⁸³ The limited area provided for the National Art Collection combined with the incorporation of parts of the art collection in the exhibit Parade was the source of much contention. For further discussion see Paul Williams, "Parade: Reformulating Art and Identity at Te Papa, Museum of New Zealand," *Open Museum Journal* 3, no. Policy and Practice (2001).

⁸⁴ See Avril Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2006), Maria Brown, "Representing the Body of a Nation: The Art Exhibitions of New Zealand's National Museum," *Third Text* 16, no. 3 (2002), Dibley, "Museum, Native, Nation", Williams, "Parade."

[was] given to the history of colonial relations between Maori and pakeha.⁸⁵ Closer examination of these exhibits also reveals the presence of the two distinctive geographic and political framings of ‘nation’ and ‘whenua’ embedded within the concept documents.



Figure 57 Plan of Level Four indicating the Mana Whenua and Tangata Tiriti displays (Te Papa Explorer, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, p. 21.)

The Tangata Tiriti exhibits shown in Figure 57 explored the story of the New Zealand nation exclusive of Maori history. Five major exhibition themes were developed. Passports focused on the universal story of migration, presenting ideas and objects that immigrants brought to New Zealand. Exhibiting the Nation recreated aspects of four International exhibits to provide an understanding of the construction of New Zealand national identity for the rest of the world.⁸⁶ On the Sheep's Back explored the wool industry and its influence on New Zealand economy and pakeha culture, while Golden Days, a multimedia presentation viewed from within the theatrical set of a recreated junk shop, added some

⁸⁵ Bell, "Bifurcation or Entanglement? Settler Identity and Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand."p.261.

⁸⁶ These included the 1851 Great Exhibition, the 1906 Christchurch International Exhibition, the 1940 Centennial Exhibition and the 1992 Seville Exposition.

‘feel good history.’⁸⁷ The final exhibit, Mana Pasifika, celebrated the cultures of Polynesia and Fiji and their influence on New Zealand. None of these exhibits situated stories within any specific places or regions, and even *On the Sheep’s Back*, the most strongly linked to land, remaining within the generality of country.

In contrast, the Mana Whenua exhibitions were displayed outside the geographical and political space of the nation. However it is false to assume, as some critics do, that Mana Whenua replicates the display of Maori at the Dominion Museum. Maria Brown and Paul Williams argue, for example, that Mana Whenua continues an ahistorical framing of Maori offering a reverential focus on artefact.⁸⁸ Williams maintains that ‘taonga are not displayed in substantially different ways from the older museum model from which Te Papa seeks dissociation.’⁸⁹ Although an engagement with contemporary history was planned but not achieved, the displays of Mana Whenua differ significantly from the Dominion Museum. Importantly, exhibits re-connect taonga to geographic place, cultural identity and customs, a major change from the de-contextualised displays of the Dominion that absorbed Maori culture into a national history or instead into an anthropological framing.

Consistent with the concept plans, this approach was best demonstrated by the inclusion of iwi specific displays that opened with *Te Ati Awa*, the local tangata whenua of Wellington.⁹⁰ This display was unique within the national focus of Te Papa, presenting one of the few examples in the entire museum that offered a detailed display of cultural relationship to a place, crossing between history, culture, environment and art. However not all displays within Mana Whenua reject the earlier display approaches of the Dominion Museum. Review of the Rongomaraeroa Marae, also featured on Level Four suggests a continuance of framings that assumed Maori culture into the New Zealand story. Known as *Te Hono ki Hawaiki*, the Marae was designed as an interpretation of a whareniui conceived to belong to all cultures of New Zealand. The marae therefore operates in a similar manner to the Maori Hall at the Dominion Museum, providing the newly constructed ‘bicultural’ nation and museum with a sense of historic depth, tradition and legitimacy.

⁸⁷ Jock Phillips, "The Politics of Pakeha History in a Bicultural Museum, Te Papa, the Museum of New Zealand, 1993-98," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001). p.154.

⁸⁸ Brown, "Representing the Body of a Nation: The Art Exhibitions of New Zealand's National Museum." p.289.

⁸⁹ Williams, "New Zealand's Identity Complex: A Critique of Cultural Practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa". p.133.

⁹⁰ Displays have since featured *Tuhoe: Children of the Mist*, the *Whanganui iwi*, and *Ngati Tahu Whanui*, the people of the South Island.



Figure 58 Rongomaraeroa [ap]

Most controversially this assumption of a 'national' marae contradicts the integral connection between the marae and tangata whenua.⁹¹ Under revised protocol, anyone who enters the museum and is represented by taonga Maori (treasures of Maori origin) or taonga Pakeha (treasures of non-Maori origin) was considered to have the right to stand on the marae as tangata whenua.⁹² As Maori scholar Paul Tapsell argues the idea of a 'national' marae represents the nationalistic appropriation of tribal identity expressed through a marae which is considered 'the ultimate expression of a kin group and its mana o te whenua, or customary authority of and over surrounding estates.'⁹³

This review of Te Papa's opening day exhibition thematic demonstrates major weaknesses in the development of all four of its major intellectual aims concerning people and environment outlined in the Day 1 Concept plans. The human interaction with environment was absent in the Papatuanuku exhibitions; the Papatuanuku displays did not intertwine Maori and scientific perspectives of environment as intended; the environmental history exhibition People and the Land was not realised; and finally the ihonui, while incorporated into the architectural fabric of the museum, was left without interpretative display. The exception was the iwi-specific displays of Mana Whenua, which offered a rare

⁹¹ Tangata whenua for Te Papa are considered Te Ati Awa ki Te Upoko o Te Ika; Ngati Toa Rangatira and Ngati Raukawa.

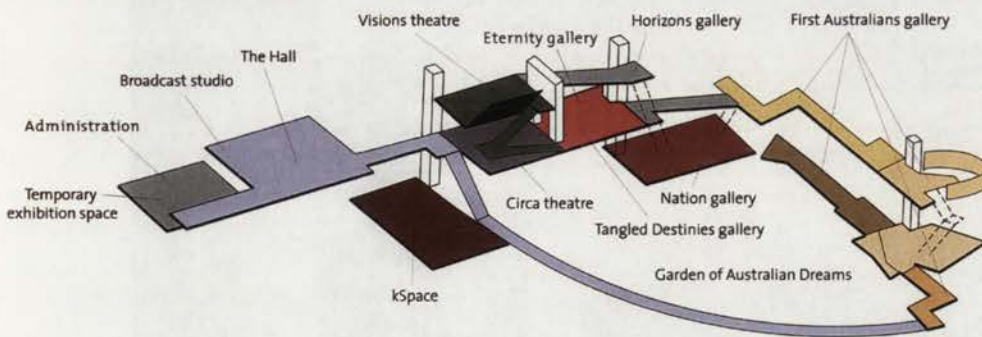
⁹² Paul Tapsell, "Taonga, Marae, Whenua - Negotiating Custodianship: A Maori Tribal Response to the Museum of New Zealand," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001). p.116.

⁹³ Ibid. p.113.

display of a cultural engagement with the natural world, although exclusive of pakeha interactions.

People Land Nation

The opening day exhibition thematic of the National Museum of Australia reveals no such hesitancy in presenting human interaction with the environment, with the opening day exhibits mirroring closely the exhibition thematic outlined in the concept documents. Almost thirty years after its release, the intellectual ambitions of the Pigott Report were finally translated into exhibition content. The thematic of People, Land and Nation was interwoven throughout the permanent galleries, which were no longer organised according to disciplinary delineation. The Gallery of First Australians provided Aboriginal Australians with relative autonomy and space to display their own stories. The environmental history display Tangled Destinies was featured as planned, designed as the first permanent exhibit. Unlike Te Papa there was no hesitation in displaying environmental narratives. Tension emerged instead over the two distinctive display approaches to national history and Aboriginal culture evident in the museum. These differences, reinforced by ARM's design for the gallery spaces, combined to present a national history of multicultural Australia constructed within the interwoven gallery spaces and the story-telling agendas of the 'new museum,' contrasted with an Aboriginal history released from the ideology of nation, anthropology and the 'new museum,' and displayed within a dedicated gallery space.



map

Author: Faggitt McDougall, Robert Price, van der Horst, Tredwell, Architects in association

Figure 59 Map of the National Museum of Australia (Building History, The National Museum of Australia, 2001, p. 34.)

The visitor's experience of the National Museum of Australia began with Circa, a twelve minute multimedia experience at the entrance to the permanent galleries. Circa introduced the museum's three part thematic of People, Land and Nation as well as the interwoven 'story telling' experience underpinning the museum. Tangled Destinies and Eternity, the first two permanent exhibits shown in the museum map depicted in Figure 59 offered the earliest experience of this display philosophy, as well as ARM's fluid and unfolding gallery spaces.

Natural Intersections

Tangled Destinies represents the materialisation of two major intellectual ambitions for the museum: 'mending the intellectual rift' between nature and culture, and showcasing multi-disciplinary histories. The exhibit was devised as an 'intellectual history of ideas' structured to tell 'multiple' stories inclusive of indigenous and non-indigenous histories, science and social history. A three part thematic was adopted. Beginning with 'Encountering Australia,' nature was introduced at the point of colonial encounter and explored European responses to flora and fauna, as well as the impact of introduced species and the extinction of native animals. 'Living with the Land' outlined differing cultural attitudes to and modifications of land including the use of fire, urban development and technologies of agriculture; while the final theme, 'Understanding Australia,' presented new ideas, knowledge and attachment.



Figure 60 Entrance to Tangled Destinies Exhibit (Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia, ed. Dimity Reed, Australia : The Images Publishing Group, pp. 160.)

Environmental narratives therefore were diverse, highlighting stories of hardship, innovation and perseverance as well as more celebratory achievements such as agricultural innovation. Less positive relationships to environment also featured including the introduction of species and the subsequent environmental damage, narratives of exploitation, destruction and misunderstanding.

Why were environmental narratives, both positive and negative showcased at the National Museum of Australia but not Te Papa? Again, the comparative and multidisciplinary structure of this study offers evidence. Unlike in New Zealand history, attitudes and framings of the Australian landscape have never been based on superiority, and in fact the reverse is true. Nineteenth-century understandings of the Australian landscape and its indigenous occupants were initially perceived to be environmentally primitive and lacking. While these colonial attitudes evolved over the course of the twentieth century into a greater appreciation and understanding of the varied landscapes of Australia, narratives of foreignness, strangeness and adversity endured. This pattern is well demonstrated by the acceptance of the desert wilderness of Ayers Rock as a 'modern' twentieth century symbol for the nation, while remaining a landscape where Europeans would always be out of place. Therefore, unlike the landscape of New Zealand, which was portrayed as superior or at least equal to that of Europe, representations of the Australian landscape accommodate degrees of environmental misunderstanding, adversity and heart break. Consequently Australia's national landscape narratives are more closely aligned with the realities of its landscape modification.

Secondly, the rapid pace of ecological transformation evident in New Zealand is not shared by Australia. The 60,000 years of settlement by Aboriginal people prior to European colonisation creates a less absolute and recent 'starting' point for ecological modification, particularly when compared with New Zealand where Maori and European settlement is understood to have occurred within at most 1000 years of each other. New Zealand's recent history of settlement therefore creates a discrete point from which to measure the impact of human settlement on the environment. The obviousness of the effects of change in New Zealand were exacerbated by qualities of the fauna such as flightlessness of birds, which made them particularly vulnerable to introduced species such as rats, weasels and stoats and therefore prone to extinction.

Tangled Destinies and the Papatuanuku exhibits presented contrasting representations of the natural world. Tangled Destinies emphasised an engagement between people and place, in contrast to the Papatuanuku exhibits that presented a pristine nature devoid of human interaction. However, the mandate to be representative of the nation was shared by both. In a repeat of the 'national' habitats developed in the dioramas for Mountains to the Sea and Bush City, the narratives of Tangled Destinies were constructed in the generalised space of the nation, rather than specific places or regions. Storytelling unfolded in displays that featured the agricultural spaces of the rangelands, unpredictable encounters with the bush and the misunderstood desert environment. This national framing extended throughout the rest of the National Museum of Australia, with the exception of The Gallery of the First Australians.

Nation versus Country

In a continuation of Tangled Destinies, the permanent galleries of 'national' history overwhelmingly positioned their stories within the generalities of national space told within the context of nation, the country, the city, the suburb and the desert. Major exhibition themes paralleled Te Papa's Tangata Tiriti exhibits, although presenting a multi-cultural story inclusive of Aboriginal perspectives. Like Passports, Horizons: The Peopling of Australia since 1788 explored the colonisation and settlement of Australia through the common story of migration. Nation: Symbols of Australia, similar to Exhibiting the Nation, introduced an alternative perspective of national history told through the major icons, ideas and symbols that shaped Australian identity. The exception was Eternity, which emphasised 'individual' storytelling to build a picture of the nation through the eyes of the individual.

The national focus for the museum was showcased by Imagining the Country, a monumental digital map that formed a spectacular centrepiece for the entire museum, intersecting vertically through the three floors to allow viewing from multiple levels. This 'artefact-free' display showcased many of the attributes of the 'new museum,' emphasising interaction and a non-chronological account of history, and presenting a plural perspective crossing between indigenous and non-indigenous stories, science and culture. Interactive computers provided visitors with an extensive range of categories to study including networks of Aboriginal exchanges, song lines, weather patterns, changes in population distributions and holiday encounters.



Figure 61 Museum centrepiece of *Imagining the Country* [ap]

The Gallery of First Australians, like *Mana Whenua*, constructed indigenous histories and culture within an Aboriginal space of country rather than nation. Significantly, the Gallery was the only space conceived of as a dedicated gallery space. Whereas the other permanent exhibits were displayed within ARM's non-hierarchical sequence of spaces that blurred circulation and display space over circuitous mezzanines, the Gallery of First Australians was designed as a discrete and bounded space. Together these factors translated into a distinctive museum experience that differed from the earlier galleries in four significant ways.

The gallery avoided encroachment from other displays, and instead was clearly defined through a 'Welcoming Hall' that provided a 'place of protocol' for welcoming the public onto another person's 'country.'⁹⁴ The gallery's position, last in the circular sequence of the museum, avoided conflict between people viewing exhibits and those moving through the space to reach other galleries. The display spaces were far more generous, better lit and more accommodating than the irregular, narrow and largely dark galleries of the earlier spaces. Most significantly, the gallery departed from the 'national' framing as well as the storytelling ideology of the 'new museum,' all defining factors in the earlier galleries.

⁹⁴ National Museum of Australia, *Land, Nation, People: Stories from the National Museum of Australia* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press, 2004). p.29.

Instead, the displays focused on specific Aboriginal tribal groups, beginning with the Ngunnawal people, Aboriginal custodians of Canberra.



Figure 62 Regional displays of the Gallery of First Australians (Land Nation People; Stories from the National Museum of Australia. p.31.)

Rather than presenting a pan-national representation of Aboriginal people, the gallery highlighted the culture and history of specific Aboriginal tribes and Torres Strait Islander peoples.⁹⁵ Displays remained artefact rich, as shown in the regional basket displays shown above in Figure 62, the legacy of the extensive collections of Aboriginal artefacts from anthropologists and collectors over the course of the twentieth century. Importantly, the gallery displayed a diverse and enduring culture, and included less celebratory moments of contact history such as the Stolen Generation, native title and frontier conflict.

Similar to Mana Whenua this approach challenged the anthropology-driven agendas of earlier museums. Aboriginal artefact was no longer de-contextualised within typologies of use, and was instead displayed as part of a specific tribal identity related to country. Aboriginal people were displayed simultaneously with an ancient and contemporary presence, erasing the ‘unbridgeable gap’ between colonisers and the colonised previously established by the evolutionary perspective. These representations were determined in close consultation with Aboriginal communities, rather than by anthropologists and scientists such as Baldwin Spencer, and were consistent with the museum’s revised role in supporting a living Aboriginal culture, rather than simply cataloguing it.

⁹⁵ Opening exhibits featured including the Anbarra people of Arnhem Land; the Palawa people from Tasmania; the Pitjantjatjara people of Ernabella and the Wiradjiri people of New South Wales, as well as a separate gallery space titled Paipa displaying Torres Strait Islander Peoples.

The opening day exhibition thematic of the National Museum of Australia presented two distinctive museum experiences, as I speculated in Chapter Three. A national history of multicultural Australia was constructed with the interwoven blurred spaces of ARM's gallery spaces and the storytelling agendas of the 'new museum,' and an indigenous history was released from the ideology of nation, anthropology and the 'new museum,' as well as the spatial confusion of the earlier galleries. Response from museum critics, the public and the official museum review (known as the Carroll report) released in 2003 favoured the approach of The Gallery of First Australians. Susan McCulloch Uehlin, visual arts writer for *The Australian* highlighted the 'richly filled exploration of indigenous history, art and culture on offer' which she considered unrivalled in Australia.⁹⁶ The Carroll report praised the gallery as 'a model for much that should be aimed at' in other parts of the museum.⁹⁷ In contrast the report considered the absence of a clear chronological thread, combined with the interweaving of thematic, circulation and exhibition space within the other galleries to promote a state of 'disjointed arbitrariness.'⁹⁸

This distinction between the two gallery experiences was quickly co-opted into the on-going 'history wars' which preoccupied Australian historians throughout the 1990s. Conservative critics such as Miranda Devine, Christopher Pearson and Keith Windschuttle for instance claimed that the museum glamorised and respected Aboriginal life while denigrating European culture. Devine alleged that the 'underlying message' of the museum was 'one of sneering ridicule for white Australia.'⁹⁹ Windshuttle argued that '[w]hile many of the exhibits of white culture are presented in terms of mockery and irony, the treatment of indigenous culture ranges from respect to reverence.'¹⁰⁰ Museum Council member David Barnett called for the museum's exhibits to 'be redone so that it resembles other national museums' although explicitly stating this should not be in the manner of Te Papa, which he also found troubling.¹⁰¹

These criticisms were countered by historians and critics such as Stuart McIntyre and Anna Clark, who argued that these debates were shaped by the agendas of 'black armband history,' a term developed by historian Geoffrey Blainey for versions of history which he

⁹⁶ Prue Goward, Dawn Casey, and Susan McCulloch-Uehlin, "Making an Exhibition of Ourselves," *The Australian*, Tuesday March 13 2001. p.13.

⁹⁷ John Carroll et al., "Review of the National Museum of Australia: Its Exhibitions and Public Programs," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). p.22.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.17.

⁹⁹ Miranda Devine, "A Nation Trivialised," *Daily Telegraph*, 12 March 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Keith Windschuttle, "How Not to Run a Museum," *Quadrant* September (2001).

¹⁰¹ David Barnett, "Underhand Left Snuck in Its Agenda," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Friday December 12 2003. p.11.

considered over-emphasised past wrongs.¹⁰² This debate, played out in both the media and in academic venues, soon shifted from consideration of the display of history to the writing of history, culminating in a forum on the portrayal of Frontier Conflict held at the National Museum of Australia in 2002.¹⁰³ Why the Gallery of First Australians produced such a different gallery experience compared with the rest of the museum was quickly subsumed by a dispute over facts and figures. However, the design of the museum was shaped by two distinctive spatial and ideological philosophies. The spatial agendas established in the competition brief and translated by ARM provided for only one dedicated gallery space envisaged for The Gallery of First Australians. Secondly, the intersection between the ideology of nation and the approaches advocated by the 'new museum' produced contrasting display approaches: a national history of multicultural Australia constructed within the storytelling agendas of the 'new museum' and an Aboriginal history released from the ideology of nation, anthropology and the 'new museum.' A further heated debate emerged following the release of the Carroll report. Most controversially the report suggested the complete re-design of The Garden of Australian Dreams, a reaction that will be explored in detail in the following chapter.¹⁰⁴

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Comparison of Te Papa and the National Museum of Australia reveals significant differences in the way in which concepts of nature, nation and the 'new museum' were manifested in the architectural design and the exhibition thematic of the museums as they appeared on their respective opening days. Consistent with its concept documents and design briefs, the National Museum of Australia presented a cultural landscape that challenged spatial delineations of architecture and landscape and the disciplinary boundaries of nature and culture. In contrast and despite intentions otherwise, the design of Te Papa reinforced binaries of nature and culture symbolically, spatially and thematically. While extensive academic critique has highlighted the cultural bifurcation of pakeha and Maori also characteristic of Te Papa, the parallel delineation of culture and a pristine nature has largely been overlooked until now.

While this contrasting outcome reflects multiple factors including the individual interpretation of the architects and the complex spatial and financial challenges involved in

¹⁰² For discussion on the cultural wars see Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2004).

¹⁰³ Outcomes of the forum were published in Bain Attwood and S.G. Foster, eds., *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003).

¹⁰⁴ Carroll et al., "Review of the National Museum of Australia."

developing a new museum, I suggest that the absence of Te Papa's major environmental history exhibit and the ihonui owes much to the heightened role of the museum as an active agent in identity. In the case of Te Papa, an emphasis on national identity created conflict between a national landscape image premised on purity, and the scientific realities of extensive and rapid ecological modification, perspectives that had previously not intersected in the museum. This conflict produced an exhibition programme that maintained rather than challenged the delineation of cultural and natural history. In contrast, the National Museum of Australia showcased environmental narratives both positive and negative, a different approach explained by a closer alignment between national landscape image and environmental realities.

However, the 'national' mandate for both museums produced two further challenges. A shift in emphasis from displays of ecological specificity to national representation had an impact on the level of knowledge displayed. Secondly, in the National Museum of Australia the delineation between a 'national' history and the autonomous indigenous galleries provoked reactionary claims that the museum glamorised and respected Aboriginal life while denigrating European culture.

Chapter Six

Displaying Environment and Landscape

This chapter moves from an analysis of the architectural design and exhibition thematic of Te Papa and the National Museum of Australia to examination of the display techniques that attempt to communicate the narratives of environment and landscape. Chapter Five established that narratives of people and place were absent from Te Papa's opening day exhibitions, with the exception of the displays of Mana Whenua. Consequently, this chapter focuses on the displays in the National Museum of Australia. I begin by examining how the intellectual intentions of the environmental history that is Tangled Destinies translated into display practice. This is followed by an investigation of the design practices underpinning *The Garden of Australian Dreams*, and includes an analysis of the negative reaction from the Carroll report, the official museum review. The analysis is extended through consideration of contemporaneous displays at 'non-national' museums that were also attempting to merge culture and science, people and place: the Museum of Sydney, the Auckland Museum and the Melbourne Museum (formerly the National Museum of Victoria).

Displaying a Peopled Environment

Despite the extensive academic interest in the museums, detailed examination of display techniques is rare. Analysis has tended to remain thematic, exploring the meta-narratives of the exhibition programme with a focus on the representation of the two new national identities of multiculturalism and biculturalism. This discourse focuses on what the displays represent rather than how the displays are designed. A clear understanding is lost of how these display approaches of the 'new museum,' in combination with a focus on nation, influenced display practice. This chapter moves beyond the thematic analysis of the previous chapter to focus explicitly on display techniques that engage with narratives of environment and landscape.

Tangled Destinies was the first permanent exhibit at the National Museum of Australia, and the Carroll report praised it for its intellectual agendas and the curatorial philosophy.¹

¹ John Carroll et al., "Review of the National Museum of Australia: Its Exhibitions and Public Programs," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). p. 16, p.31.

The exhibition curators, including Mike Smith, Libby Robbins and Jay Arthur,² wrote critiques that similarly praised the approach. All these accounts focused on the intellectual ambitions of the exhibition rather than reflecting critically on the success of the translation of these philosophies into display outcomes. In this chapter I focus on precisely this translation. I approach this critique from three principal perspectives. I examine how a multi-disciplinary understanding of the natural world that includes scientific, indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives, is constructed within a single exhibition. I then examine how the storytelling approaches of the 'new museum,' particularly the emphasis on 'writing,' have influenced display practice. Finally, I examine how the narratives between people and place are represented.

The critique is extended through comparison with contemporaneous displays at 'non-national' museums that also sought to merge culture and science, people and place: the displays of the Museum of Sydney overseen by curator Peter Emmett, and the Maori gallery Te Ao Turoa at the Auckland Museum. The analysis is developed further through consideration of the writings of Pawson, Dovers and Bush who all discuss the particular problems encountered in the representation of the interdisciplinary content of environmental history;³ and the work of Paul Carter and Kate Gregory who offer valuable perspectives for understanding the role and value of art practices in display.⁴

While heralded for its intellectual philosophy, I argue that there are considerable problems evident in the translation of Tangled Destinies' ambitious intellectual agenda into display practice. Structurally, the exhibit does not develop a 'constructive intersection' between natural, social and Aboriginal histories, with natural history in particular lost to the dominant narrative of settler history. Text-based displays dominate, with artefact used only to 'illustrate' a concept and in some cases completely absent. Further, I argue that the mandate to be representative of the nation, and in a single display, rather than focusing on

² See Jay Arthur, "Captions for Landscapes," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001), Libby Robin, "Collections and the Nation: Science, History and the National Museum of Australia," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 14 (2003), Mike Smith, "A History of Ways of Seeing the Land: Environmental History at the National Museum of Australia," *Curator* 46, no. 1 (2003).

³ Martin Bush, "Shifting Sands: Museum Representations of Science and Indigenous Knowledge Traditions," *Open Museum Journal* 7 The Other side, no. November (2005), Eric Pawson and Stephen Dovers, "Environmental History and the Challenges of Interdisciplinarity: An Antipodean Perspective," *Environment and History* 9 (2003).

⁴ Paul Carter, *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004), Kate Gregory, "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney," *Fabrications: The journal of the society of Architectural Historians*, Australia and New Zealand 16, no. 1 (2006).

specific places rendered impossible the task of displaying relationships between people and place. In contrast Te Ao Turoa and the displays of the Museum of Sydney demonstrate the advantages of focusing on specific places rather than the generalities of nation, while the ‘material thinking’ underlying the approaches of the Museum of Sydney suggest an alternative curatorial practice for displaying cultural narratives of place in the absence of artefact.

Devising the Structure

Tangled Destinies was both geographically and intellectually ambitious, seeking to combine ‘the scientific and cultural history of a continent in a way never before attempted in an Australian museum.’⁵ The exhibition was pivotal not only to achieving the aims of the Pigott report—‘mending the intellectual rift’ between nature and culture—but also to showcasing multi-disciplinary histories favoured within the foundational documents of the National Museum of Australia. An extensive multi-disciplinary team, but excluding designers, was assembled to advise on the appropriate structure for Tangled Destinies.⁶ Significantly, the design process for Tangled Destinies separated the conceptualisation of the display and its physical design, and compounded this separation by employing international designers once the concept had been formalised⁷. This process differs significantly from earlier museum display practices where scientists worked closely with taxidermists and artists to conceive of and design displays. As a consequence of this process, the final exhibit was structured as an ‘intellectual history of ideas,’ configured into ten modules to tell ‘multiple’ stories, weaving together indigenous and non-indigenous histories, science and social history. This was an ambitious undertaking, and its translation into display practice reveals the challenges it presented to developing a balanced narrative structure for the three perspectives. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the final outcome overwhelmingly favoured settler history.

Designing the Intersection

Determining the nature and degree of intersection or overlap between disciplines forms a critical component of interdisciplinary studies. Environmental historians Eric Pawson and

⁵ National Museum of Australia, *Yesterday Tomorrow : The National Museum of Australia* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2001).p.11.

⁶ This team included an archeologist, an environmental historian, a lexical cartographer, a geomorphologist, a cultural geographer, a biogeographer in addition to historians specializing in the history of science, ethnography and the ‘history of natural history.’

⁷ In October 1998, a conglomeration of three US based design firms (Amaze Design, Anway Design and DMCD) were appointed, with the designers relocating to Canberra for six months to develop exhibitions.

Stephen Dovers argue that defining the extent of convergence between disciplines is vital to claiming environmental history as an interdisciplinary pursuit, arguing that it is 'too easy to assume that interdisciplinarity will emerge when representatives of different disciplines get together.'⁸ Pawson and Dovers identify two dominant strategies for accommodating multiple perspectives of environment within a single structure. The first assumes that 'considerable epistemological differences exist' and seeks only 'superficial measures of connections between them,' while the second attempts 'to intersect constructively' with other disciplines.⁹ In situating three diverse perspectives of indigenous, non-indigenous and scientific histories within the singular narrative, *Tangled Destinies* could be considered an example of Dovers' and Pawson's second approach, 'constructive intersection' with other disciplines.¹⁰

The exhibit structure as it was on opening day shows a clear emphasis on the settler narrative. Beginning with the theme, 'Encountering Australia,' nature was introduced as a colonial encounter, and the display explored European responses to flora and fauna, as well as the impact of introduced species and the extinction of native animals. 'Living with the Land' outlined differing cultural attitudes to and modifications of land, including the use of fire, urban development and technologies of agriculture; while the final theme, 'Understanding Australia,' presented new ideas, knowledge and expressions of attachment to the Australian landscape. This structure reflects a chronology of the settler narrative framed thematically within the concepts of response, adjustment and attachment. It was within this overarching frame that indigenous and scientific knowledge were interwoven.

Natural history in particular was overwhelmed by social history content, an aspect identified in both the Carroll report¹¹ and an internal review.¹² Certainly, some displays such as Biological Invasion successfully displayed stories that crossed all three perspectives. This display featured the impact of the introduced rabbit, interweaving multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural stories depicting Aboriginal culture, agricultural practices, ecology and popular culture. Artefact was diverse and included a section of the rabbit-proof fence, the

⁸ Pawson and Dovers, "Environmental History and the Challenges of Interdisciplinarity." p.3.

⁹ Ibid.pp. 9-10.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Carroll et al., "Review of the National Museum of Australia."p.32.

¹² The *Tangled Destinies* critique was held at the National Museum of Australia in November in 2002. Speakers included Dr Mike Smith (Program Director National Museum), Matt Kirchman (Interpretative Planner, Amaze Design), Dr Libby Robbins (curator 1989-99), Dr Lynn McCarthy (Senior Developer, National Museum), Dr Richard Gillespie (Melbourne Museum) and Penny Morrison (Melbourne Museum).

iconic Akubra hat made of rabbit pelt, and the painting ‘Snake story at Karrinyarra’ by Aboriginal artist Mick Tjakamarra, shown in Figure 63, which depicts the rabbit as part of an Aboriginal story. This ‘constructive intersection’ between these three perspectives was rare.



Figure 63 Snake story at Karrinyarra 1978 by Mick Tjakamarra included as part of the Biological Invasion (Land Nation People Stories from the National Museum of Australia, p. 107).



Figure 64 Cities of the Edge [ap]

The difficulties presented by the ‘national’ scope were well demonstrated by the outcomes of the Cities of the Edge, shown in Figure 64. Originally planned with a focus on Perth, the display was revised to incorporate all Australian cities. This expanded scope, together with the limited physical space dedicated to the display, combined to produce tenuous narratives of Australia’s diverse cities. Hobart, for example, was represented by a whale harpoon and whale teeth, while Sydney, framed as ‘growing pains,’ was presented by a chainsaw and a wooden bowl made out of turpentine tree cut down to make way for M2 Hills motorway.

Any clear point of intersection to examine the environmental history of these diverse cities was absent. This was true of many displays within *Tangled Destinies*, where stories were generalised to sit within a national space. A detailed engagement with a specific place in the displays of *Tangled Destinies* was rare.

The Deep Time module was an exception. It formed part of the final thematic of 'Understanding Australia,' and was distinctive for several reasons. Unlike the other modules, it focused on a specific place, Kakadu National Park. It integrated indigenous and scientific perspectives of place, and incorporated the use of digital media. The display featured a digital presentation of deep time environmental change at Kakadu, simultaneously presenting Aboriginal relationships to land. Stone tools and implements excavated from Malakunanja rock shelter in 1990, dated at 55,000 years old, supplemented the display.¹³ The use of digital media was significant because it facilitated departure from the linearity of geological deep time and colonial narratives of progress, and enabled the simultaneous presentation of contemporary and ancient identities of Aboriginal people, addressing the 'unbridgeable' gap between Aboriginal and European culture evident in the early twentieth-century museum. Such a dynamic and cyclic temporal framing created new possibilities for intersecting scientific narratives of global climatic change with the long history of occupation of the first Australians, extending 'the human story into a non-human realm.'¹⁴

Despite being a major intellectual ambition for *Tangled Destinies*, the intersection of deep time scientific history and indigenous perspectives of place was rarely achieved. In his study of science, indigenous knowledge tradition and the museum Martin Bush identifies three common display structures. The first operates within a relativist framework of knowledge where 'claims from different traditions are not explicitly contrasted with those of science.'¹⁵ Knowledge is positioned as relevant only within its own tradition or context, a position that discourages interaction or engagement between systems. This approach is evident in Te Papa's Papatuanuku exhibits¹⁶ In the second, displays promote 'a symmetrical approach,' interweaving scientific and indigenous knowledge while accounting for the role

¹³ These artefacts were found on what is now considered the lease area for the Jabiluka uranium mine site in Kakadu National Park.

¹⁴ Tom Griffiths, "Travelling in Deep Time: La Longue Duree in Australian History," *Australian Humanities Review*, no. June (2000). p.3.

¹⁵ Bush, "Shifting Sands: Museum Representations of Science and Indigenous Knowledge Traditions." p.11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.12.

that social factors contribute to generating knowledge.¹⁷ This method, observes Bush, generally leads to the interpretation of indigenous knowledge through the lens of western science. Finally, there are displays that interpret western science through the framework of indigenous knowledge, a much rarer approach but demonstrated in the Te Ao Turoa Gallery (Maori Natural History) that opened at the Auckland Museum in 1999.

Stories of Place

Te Ao Turoa was without precedent in New Zealand museums: it was considered the first gallery to focus on the Maori natural world, and was acclaimed for being developed by indigenous creative producers.¹⁸ Te Ao Turoa demonstrates an alternative conceptual framework to Tangled Destinies and the Papatuanuku exhibits. It replaced a focus on nation with an emphasis on a particular place, namely the Auckland isthmus (Tamaki Makaurau); and it privileged indigenous perspectives of land and whenua, into which scientific perspectives were interwoven. According to the concept brief, the gallery aimed at encouraging visitors 'to identify and examine the similarities and the difference, and to attempt to achieve a better understanding of what constitutes "western" or modern science and indigenous or traditional science.'¹⁹

The concept of whakapapa forms the dominant paradigm for the gallery structure, a genealogical framing 'whereby the unity and relations of things, living and nonliving are revealed and understood.'²⁰ In contrast to western science, whakapapa codifies knowledge according to relationships and interactions with the world, including human interactions, rather than through processes of separation. Stories are interwoven throughout the display 'in such a way that the environment is perceived and understood in cultural rather than in purely physical terms,' making 'the notion of any history without humans unthinkable.'²¹ Consequently, unlike Tangled Destinies, the philosophy of the gallery was not an 'intellectual' idea that aimed to reconnect nature and culture but was guided by an iwi-specific belief system for ordering and conceiving of the world that encompasses living and inanimate, the everyday and the sacred, science and culture.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.11

¹⁸ Chanel Clarke, "Te Ao Turoa - a Maori View of the Natural World in Auckland Museum," *Te Ara - Museums Aotearoa* 27, no. 1 (2002). p.26.

¹⁹ Auckland Museum, "Maori Natural History Gallery," (Auckland: Auckland Museum).pp. 1-2.

²⁰ Ibid.p. 2.

²¹ Ibid.p. 7.



Figure 65 Floor map of Tamaki Makaurau, Te Ao Turoa Gallery [ap]



Figure 66 Maori Classification of stone according to whakapapa, Te Ao Turoa Gallery [ap]

Te Ao Turoa begins with a cosmological account of the universe, displayed in both written and oral form. Tamaki Makaurau, the focus of the display is then introduced as a large central interactive floor map (Figure 65), which encourages visitors to walk over and explore the region. A Maori sky chart of the southern hemisphere was above the map, representing Ranginui (sky father) to the map's Papatuanuku (Earth Mother). The remainder of the gallery is organised according to the children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, who are considered the environmental atua (gods). These include Tane-mahuta (forests, birds, insects, humans), Tangaroa (fishes, reptiles), Tawhirimatea (winds,

rain), Rongomaraeroa (kumara and other cultivated foods), Haumiatiketike (plants and uncultivated food) and Ruamoko (volcanoes and earthquakes).

The realm of Tangaroa (fish and reptiles), for example, is presented through a combination of cultural practices, spiritual beliefs, cultural identity, environmental knowledge and technology. Major themes include the life cycle of the eel, harvesting of fish, the origin of pounamu (greenstone), sea birds, fishing techniques and taniwha (spiritual guardians). Importantly, displays present major differences between Maori perspectives and western scientific classification systems. This is well demonstrated in the example of pounamu, where the display approach highlights how inanimate objects can be related to living creatures, an impossibility within western science.²²

Display techniques are diverse, mixing computer interactivity, live eel, pounamu taonga, fish hooks and complex whakapapa diagrams. Interconnectedness and relationships are stressed including an emphasis on oral history communicated through waiata (songs), whaikorero (speeches); pakiwaitara (stories) and whakatauaiki (sayings) accessed via audio telephone guides, multimedia and talking posts.²³ Importantly, whakapapa diagrams, as shown in Figure 66 establish that, similar to scientific classification systems, whakapapa offers a recordable knowledge system.

The displays of Te Ao Turoa gallery differ from Tangled Destinies in three significant ways. They focus on the relationship between people and a specific place; they frame the display according to indigenous perspectives rather in terms of a linear narrative of settler history; and they adopt an extensive range of display techniques.

Writing Exhibits

In contrast, text was central to many of Tangled Destinies displays, reflecting its new prominence within the storytelling of the 'new museum.' Historically the role of text within displays of nature was confined to the labelling of artefacts to identify its taxonomic classification. The introduction of evolutionary thought led to the textual narrative as a means for describing evidence of evolutionary change. The role of text was given greater

²² This emphasis on difference is demonstrated by the inclusion of pounamu (greenstone). Unlike other rock resources that are traced to the ancestor Rakehore, pounamu belongs to Tangaroa, the realm of fish and ancestors, an association that recognises the stone's importance as a valuable taonga, understood as far more than a purely utilitarian use.

²³ Clarke, "Te Ao Turoa - a Maori View of the Natural World in Auckland Museum." p. 25.

primacy in the 'storytelling' of ecological exhibits, where extensive explanations were combined with diagrams, images and artefacts to explain ecological relationships in the natural world. *Tangled Destinies* reveals two new relationships between text and artefact: the use of artefact to illustrate a concept as communicated through text, a framing which replaces the artefact as the primary source of knowledge; and the use of entirely text-based displays, which challenged not only display as a curatorial practice but the role of the museum as a collection of 'things.'

This reliance on textual storytelling is demonstrated by the Firestick Farming module which 'displayed' the dynamic management practice of indigenous burning regimes entirely through text and reproduced images. The display, shown in Figure 67, contained no artefact and was simply layers of text. While significant documents and photographs were incorporated into this textual storytelling, they were reproductions rather than originals, and often significantly reduced in size. This approach not only challenges the centrality of material culture to the museum but also concepts of authenticity and interpretation. The final outcome 'reads' like a chapter in a book, an approach that environmental historian Tim Bonyhady cautioned against in early workshops for *Tangled Destinies* when he wrote,

A museum exhibition is not a book, so it is important not to get lost in text and audio, which can be numbing at the expense of the visual. Objects and displays should speak for themselves, as much as possible.²⁴

The dominance of text within many of the displays was highlighted during a peer critique conducted in 2002 by Richard Gillespie from the Melbourne Museum. Gillespie also criticised the design of the text, which, as demonstrated in *Firestick Farming*, incorporated numerous graphic styles within a single panel, using multiple typefaces, colours and sizes.²⁵ Curator Mike Smith argues that the prominence of text within *Tangled Destinies* reflects two issues: the nature of environmental history that requires objects to be extensively interpreted, and the types of stories included within the display that have usually not been able to be told through objects.²⁶

²⁴ Australian National University and the National Museum of Australia, "Environmental History in the National Museum of Australia: A Workshop," ed. L. Robbin and K. Wehner (Canberra: National Museum of Australia and RSS, 1998), p. 6.

²⁵ Richard Gillespie, "Tangled Destinies Formal Review" (National Museum of Australia, 2002).

²⁶ Mike Smith, "Untangling Tangled Destinies: Exhibition Review," (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2002).



Figure 67 The textual display of Fire Stick Farming [ap]

Writing Relationships to Place

The module Landscapes of the Mind is an example of such stories, aiming to display diverse spiritual and political relationships to environment and landscape. Similar to Firestick Farming, the display was designed entirely as text and image panel. The increasingly prominent role of writers in developing exhibits is clearly evident in Landscapes of the Mind, which was curated by archivist and historian, Jay Arthur. Originally intended to include four lakes from across Australia, the exhibit was reduced to a focus on Tasmania's Lake Pedder, the site of Australia's earliest environmental battles. Words formed the primary mode for conveying the differing ways that developers, conservationists and the Tasmanian Hydro-Electric commission viewed this now-flooded landscape.

These words were considered by Arthur to be 'indications of the potential or actual destinies of these bodies of water caught in the tangled relation of humans to their landscape.'²⁷ The display, shown in Figure 68, comprised two large photographs of Lake

²⁷ Arthur, "Captions for Landscapes." p. 210.

Pedder superimposed with text phrases including ‘magnificent views,’ ‘man-made pond’ and ‘watery grave’. This approach raises two issues: first the generalised and clichéd phrases, which raise questions about the depth of knowledge and understanding that is communicated; and secondly, the relationship between text and image. Similar to Firestick Farming, the panels were designed primarily as graphic compositions, as distinct from a more curatorial approach towards image and text, which would have called for more active engagement in the relationship between text and image in projecting a message.

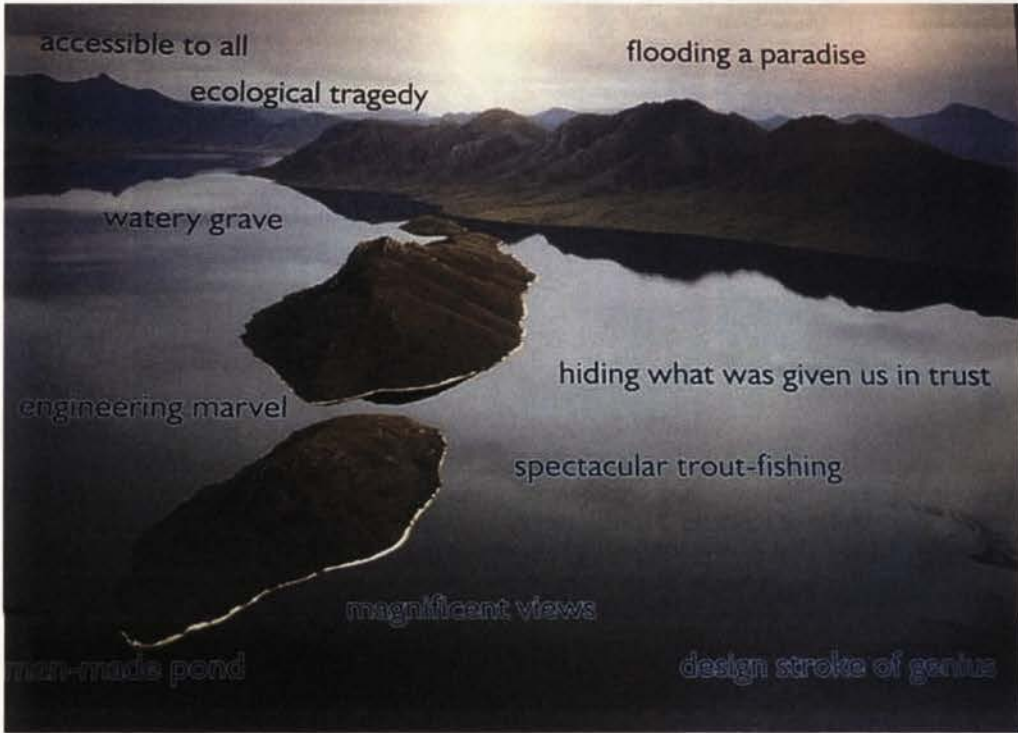


Figure 68 Simplistic phrases of Landscape of the Mind [ap]

Landscape of the Minds was considered one of the least successful modules of Tangled Destinies and consequently was removed soon after the museum’s opening. The questions remain concerning how to display rather than write connections between people and place, connections that form the primary focus of environmental history.

Poetics of Place

The Museum of Sydney, which opened in 1995 on the archaeological site of Australia’s first Government House, faced the same questions. The decision to cover the archaeological remains significantly reduced material evidence available to communicate the site’s significance. In an alternative to the textual storytelling of Tangled Destinies, curator Peter Emmett explored the intersection of art and museological practice in order to maintain a focus on material culture while engaging with the poetics of place. Rather than emphasising

writers, Emmett assembled a collection of ‘creative people’ including curators, artists, archaeologists, designers, historians, digital media designers, film makers and graphic designers to contribute to his vision to ‘compose and liberate the metaphor of place.’²⁸ ‘Poetics of place’ guided Emmett’s methodology, in which he aimed ‘to exploit the sensuality and materiality of the museum medium.’²⁹ Scholarship, speculation and imagination were integral to the interrogation of what Emmett describes as ‘the gaps, absences, the in-between spaces, the memory places.’³⁰ The resultant displays demonstrate alternative techniques for displaying relationships between people and place while maintaining the centrality of materiality to the museum, in a practice that writer and theorist Paul Carter describes as ‘material thinking.’³¹

A ‘designed’ juxtaposition underpinned many of the displays of the Museum of Sydney. Unlike the textual displays of *Tangled Destinies* this juxtaposition maintains a curatorial practice with displays emerging from the direct manipulation of ‘things.’ A strategy of ‘imagetexts,’ composite works that interrogate relationships between textual quotations and image, informed the opening day exhibit *Fleeting Encounter, Pictures and Chronicles*, that featured the *First Fleet Journals* and works by *Port Jackson Painter*.³² Rather than simply captioning the paintings with the descriptive words of the curator, selected captions from the journals were used to accompany the paintings. Few journal entries directly corresponded with the paintings. This designed dissociation between image and text formed a major component of the display practice and was considered a valuable means for revealing new associations and meaning.³³ As curator Paul Carter explained, counter to an official chronological view of history, this approach produced ‘a widening network of interconnect anecdotes,’ suggesting ‘a spreading environment of “other events” going on alongside or behind the represented tableaux of white progress and the reduction of land to picturesque proportions.’³⁴ This display strategy was premised on a dynamic relationship between the image and text, a premise absent from *Landscapes of the Mind* where image was reduced to a contextual backdrop for the positioning of text.

²⁸ Peter Emmett, “Wysiwyg on the Site of First Government House,” in *Sites : Nailing the Debate: Archaeology and Interpretation in Museums* (Sydney: Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 1996). p.114.

²⁹ Ibid. p.115.

³⁰ Ibid. p.120.

³¹ Carter, *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research*.p.185

³² Ibid. p.75

³³ Ibid. p.75.

³⁴ Ibid. p.76.

A designed juxtaposition was shared by other displays at the Museum of Sydney including artist Narelle Jubelin's work *Collector's Chests*. Jubelin's contribution featured an interpretation of Sydney's history from 1788 to 1845. Display of material was not based on any fixed chronology or narrative structure but rather on the apparently random juxtaposition of extracts of diaries, letters, archaeological artefact, natural history specimens, newspaper clippings and contemporary objects, which produced a montage of artefact and image that provoked new historical connections.³⁵ The absence of a pre-defined narrative was extended to visitors' interaction with the display, where they were required to select randomly from one of 75 drawers. Jubelin explained,

I tried to keep the material as buoyant as I could...just grouping material. Sometimes a title would come before the contents, sometimes the other way around. I was deliberately, consciously putting material in juxtaposition with one another...³⁶

Like *Fleeting Encounter*, Jubelin's practice reflects what Paul Carter describes as 'material thinking,' where new signs are materialised through 'the reformulation of materiality that acknowledges its plastic intelligence, its gifts for recombination.'³⁷ Unlike the displays of *Tangled Destinies*, which in many instances use artefact to illustrate a textual story, 'material thinking' engages with the relationship between 'things' be they text, image or artefact, a strategy that shares similarities with nineteenth-century display techniques, which produced knowledge through the ordering of material culture. Rather than adopting rational systems of classification such as taxonomy, these orderings extend to poetics, emotion and imagination.

The display approaches of the Museum of Sydney have drawn criticism from historians. In her analysis of historians' attitudes to the Museum of Sydney, Kate Gregory concluded that the use of art and aesthetic experience was generally devalued because 'it was considered to compromise the treatment of history.'³⁸ Aesthetics of art practices were considered to produce 'unreliable' historical interpretations, creating 'fuzzy' history with empty meaning.³⁹ These practices were considered to undermine the museum's role in preserving artefactual knowledge for future generations. This argument overlooks two issues. The value of these approaches is in their ability to display new stories that connect people and

³⁵ Gregory, "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney." p.15.

³⁶ Jubelin interview with author cited Ibid. p.16.

³⁷ Carter, *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research*. p.185.

³⁸ Gregory, "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney." p.4.

³⁹ Ibid. pp.3-4.

place while maintaining a curatorial practice reliant on ‘things.’ Counter to claims that these practices ‘dematerialise the past,’ Paul Carter argues that the reverse is true, the exhibitions successfully displaying the ‘very technologies of remembering that, in conventional displays, are treated as immaterial.’⁴⁰ The aversion of historians to the techniques adopted in Emmett’s museum overlooks their own role and that of writers in the production of museum displays such as *Tangled Destinies* which, as I have argued, have equally contributed to loss of ‘artefactual’ knowledge by replacing objects with textual storytelling.

A return to critiques of *Tangled Destinies* also reveals tension in the production process underlying the final exhibition; specifically the gap between the intellectualising of the exhibit concept and the design of the display. As discussed earlier, an extensive multi-disciplinary team, exclusive of designers, was assembled to advise on the appropriate structure for *Tangled Destinies*. Designer Scott W. Guerin commented on how little design featured in the conceptualization of exhibitions. He stated ‘[w]e struggled in the first phase of the project with content organization and spatial layout, but surprisingly little effort had been put in to the actual look of things.’⁴¹ Environmental historian Tom Griffiths saw things differently:

The National Museum of Australia famously employed American designers who had to be flown around Australia to educate them about this ‘cute little continent’ and who scheduled meetings on 26 January and wondered why no-one turned up. Managers love designers, for they talk the same language. The business of both is proudly ‘content-free.’⁴²

Guerin’s and Griffiths’ statements indicate that a considerable gap emerged between intellectual concept and practice. This gap had not been apparent in earlier museum practices, such as the ecological diorama, where in-house display teams had worked closely with scientists. Because the collection and scientific paradigms played such significant roles in display production, less translation was required from exhibition concept to physical design. However, in the case of *Tangled Destinies*, the conceptualisation of the display independent of designers, the fast-track delivery of exhibitions, and the use of an international tender for design, together conspired to create an undeniable gap between the exhibition as an idea and the physical outcome.

⁴⁰ Carter, *Material Thinking: The Theory and Practice of Creative Research*. p. 72.

⁴¹ Andrew Anway and Scott W. Guerin, "A Complicated Story," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002).p. 167.

⁴² Tom Griffiths, "The Gallery of Life," *Meanjin* 60, no. 4 (2001). p.87.

Old Land, New Land

The Carroll report review of *Tangled Destinies* and the peer review conducted by Richard Gillespie informed a major reworking of the opening day exhibition. Gillespie recommended the exhibit be reduced in scope, suggesting a more focused interrogation of differing perspectives on a similar subject.⁴³ He highlighted the exhibit's ambitious and episodic approach that he argued diminished the intellectual content to 'snap shots.'⁴⁴ He commented on the limited frames of reference for contemporary issues, an observation shared by the Carroll Report, which advocated more connection to 'issues of current interest such as environmental change, land degradation, and salinity.'⁴⁵ Subsequent revisions of the exhibit reflect these recommendations. The gallery was renamed Old Land New Land, a title considered to more indicative of the revised content, and the exhibit was reframed to emphasise environmental practices and sustainability.

Australians Living Inland replaced the nationally-focused *Cities of the Edge* with a regional ambit. Adopting the common lens of human interaction with water, the module looks at the three inland cities of Alice Springs, Kalgoorlie and Wagga. Concepts of salinity, engineering and adaptability are introduced through a range of artefacts, images and text, including a piece of the Perth-to-Kalgoorlie water pipeline and a camel water tank from Kalgoorlie.⁴⁶ Significantly, this more regionally-focused environmental history re-aligns Old Land New Land with the accepted disciplinary framing that was disrupted by the explicit nationalistic agendas for the new museum, completing the transition from the unpeopled ecological displays of the mid-twentieth century museum to displays that engage people and place underpinned by an early-twenty first century emphasis on sustainability and environmental practices.

Exhibiting Narratives of Landscape

Of all the displays that engaged with narratives of environment and landscape, the garden has the strongest genealogical link to the museum. Miniature landscapes such as the South Australian court 'bush land' scene featured in the late-nineteenth century International Exhibitions, and the romantic Exhibition Fernery was featured at Christchurch's 1906 International Exhibition. This lineage was paralleled by the development of the 'scientific'

⁴³ Gillespie, "Tangled Destinies Formal Review".

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Carroll et al., "Review of the National Museum of Australia." pp. 31-32, p.42.

⁴⁶ National Museum of Australia, "Performance Reports: National Museum of Australia," (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2005).p.28.

botanic garden. Melbourne's first botanic garden was opened in 1846, contemporaneous with the Museum of Natural History and Economic Geology, the predecessor to McCoy's National Museum. The insertion of a 'garden' into the central space of the National Museum of Australia therefore was not a particularly innovative gesture. Yet the design of The Garden of Australian Dreams provoked one of the most heated reactions to any display within the museum, prompting the Carroll Report to recommend its complete re-design.

The difficulties in display practices that confronted the internal display of environmental history extended to the external space of The Garden of Australian Dreams. Most of the critique of the design, outside of the Carroll Report, has originated from landscape architecture, with theorists such as Connelly, Barnett and Raxworthy, together with Richard Weller (one of the Garden's designers), arguing the design's value relative to a canon of landscape architecture.⁴⁷ The Garden's significance is generally established in two ways, either in relation to the individual practice of Weller, its designer, or in relation to theoretical and design developments within landscape architecture. There has been little acknowledgement in these critiques of the physical and intellectual context for the design, namely the museum.

In contrast to the critiques offered by landscape architecture critics and the Carroll report, this analysis offers an alternative understanding by, contextualising the design practice of the Garden in relation to *Tangled Destinies*, and in relation to two contemporaneous external displays, one, the Edge of the Trees, at the Museum of Sydney and the other The Forest Gallery at the Melbourne Museum (formerly the National Museum of Victoria). Repeating the tripartite analytical approach used in the discussion of *Tangled Destinies*, three aspects are considered. First, I examine how a multi-disciplinary understanding of the natural world inclusive of scientific, indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives is constructed within a single exhibition; second, I examine how the display responds to the impossible scope of nation; and, finally, I examine how the Garden represents narratives between people and place.

⁴⁷ See Rod Barnett, "Field of Signs," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Melbourne: The Images Publishing Group, 2002), Peter Connolly, "Cowboy Critical: The Antipodean Practice of Room 4.1.3," in *Room 4.1.3: Innovations in Landscape Architecture*, ed. Richard Weller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Julian Raxworthy, "Room 4.1.3 and Australian Landscape Architecture," in *Room 4.1.3: Innovations in Landscape Architecture*, ed. Richard Weller (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Richard Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 21, no. Australian Issue: Part 1 (2001).

In both *The Garden of Australian Dreams* and *the Edge of the Trees* at the Museum of Sydney, 'designed' juxtaposition is central. 'Material thinking' underpins both, demonstrated in the design of the Garden by two maps overlaid as the basis for a 'constructive' intersection between indigenous, non-indigenous and scientific perspectives. Additional symbols, references, spaces and images were collaged onto this surface to present a fragment of nation, deliberately avoiding any sense of a linear chronology or attempt at representativeness. The value of this design strategy is reinforced when compared with the linear narrative structure of *The Forest Gallery* which, although designed with a narrower regional focus, falls prey to the structural difficulties evident at *Tangled Destinies* by attempting to reconcile the temporal disparities between Aboriginal, settler and natural history. Where the Carroll report vigorously questions the value of *The Garden of Australian Dreams* as a display practice, I argue that the 'material thinking' that underpins the Garden provides a valuable curatorial practice for addressing both the ambitious geographical and temporal scope of nation as well as for displaying relationships between people and place, otherwise not represented by 'authentic' artefact.

Overlapping Intersections

The genesis for the *Garden of Australian Dreams* lies not in the intellectual framework of the National Museum of Australia but in the design practice of landscape architects Richard Weller and Vladimir Sitta. While Weller claims the garden as both practice and example of landscape architecture, this analysis shows that it is also a display strategy. Its designed juxtapositions provide a useful strategy for addressing many of the shortcomings evident in *Tangled Destinies*, namely the impossible temporal and geographic scope of nation, and the challenge of representing cultural relationships between people and place. However, in contrast to the development approach to *Tangled Destinies*, the landscape architects both conceptualised and designed the Garden, thereby maintaining an integral relationship between idea and representation.

Collaged Maps

The major generator for the Garden emerged from the overlaying of two cartographic representations of landscape: the 'Great Australian Dream' represented by a standard English map of Australia revealing no trace of Aboriginal presence, and 'Aboriginal Dreaming,' symbolised through Horton's map of the linguistic boundaries of indigenous Australia. These collaged maps established a spatial order, an act that according to Weller referenced the 'difficult but nonetheless shared cartography,' between indigenous and non-

indigenous Australians.⁴⁸ The juxtaposition of the two maps provides the principal point of intersection for constructing an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural engagement with landscape. Importantly, this gesture erases any sense of a linear narrative or chronology while providing a surface and symbolic language for recording multiples processes, events and meanings that cross science, art, popular culture and history. Although elements of the map reference particular places, such as the coast of the Arnhem Land (which can be ‘read’ along the edge of the pool, as shown in Figure 69), this strategy establishes a ‘collage’ of nation made up of geographical fragments and cultural moments.

Similar to ARM’s tactics of copy and fragmentation, scientific ‘objective’ cartographic symbols of soil, geology and weather maps, together with cultural markings including political electoral boundaries, roads and the Dingo fence were inscribed into the concrete surface as shown in Figure 70. Indigenous and non-indigenous place names, and the word ‘home’ translated into the many languages spoken in Australia, were similarly inscribed. Symbolic and metaphoric references ranging from the everyday to the political were constructed over the top of this surface.

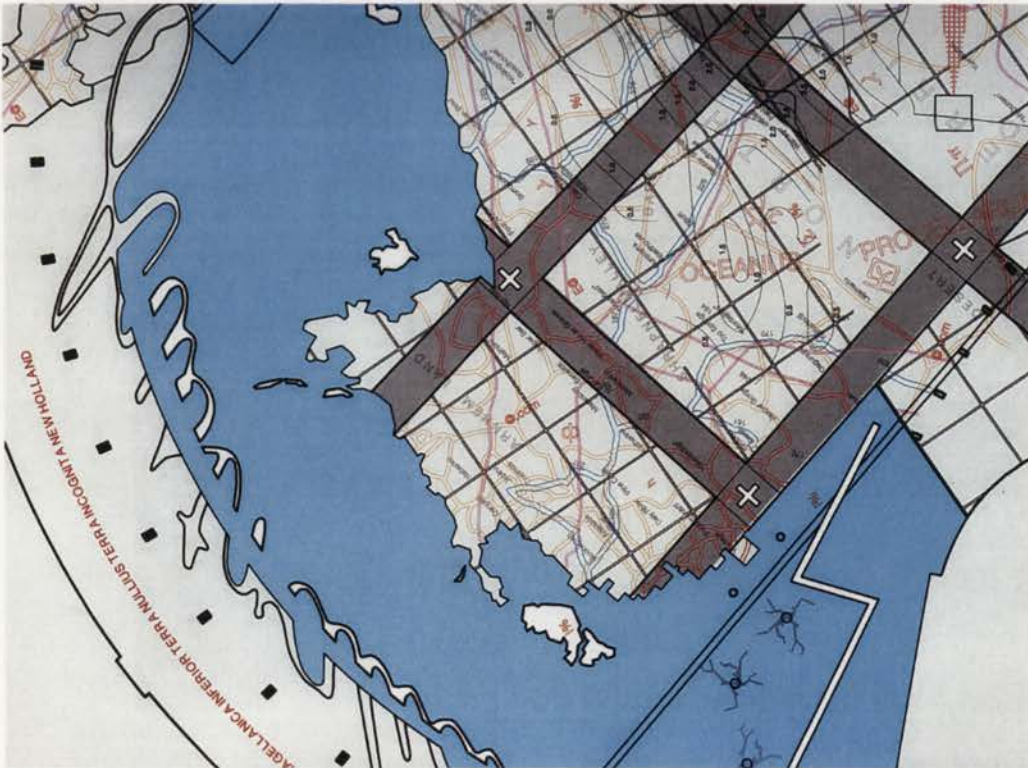


Figure 69 Plan for the Garden indicating the Northern coast line of Australia (Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia, ed. Dimity Reed, Australia : The Images Publishing Group, pp.144.)

⁴⁸ Weller, "The National Museum, Canberra, and Its Garden of Australian Dreams." p.78

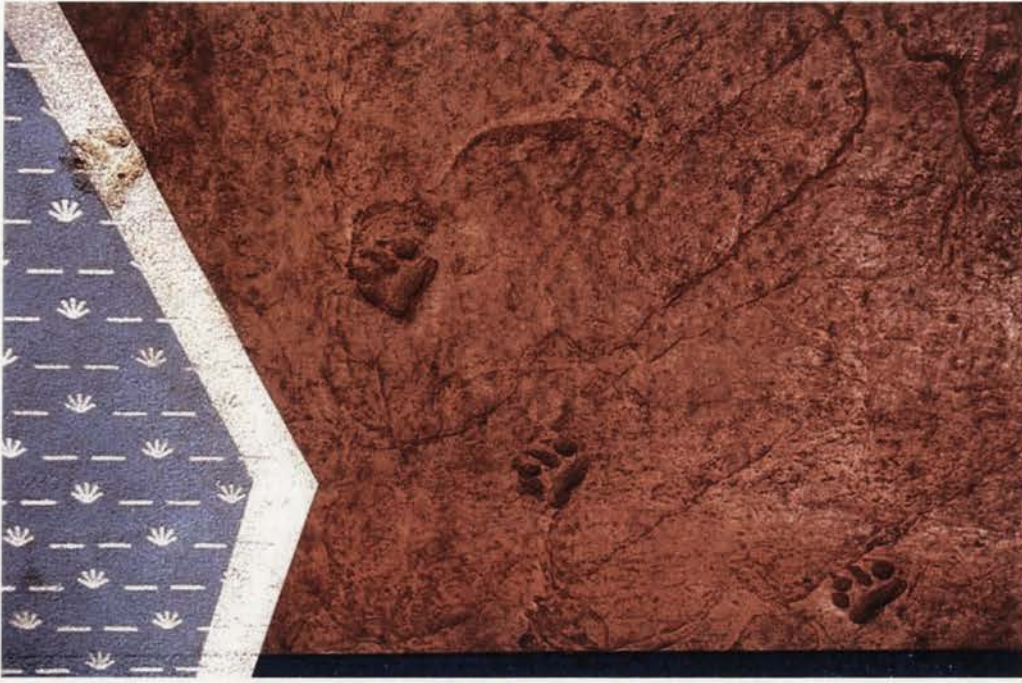


Figure 70 Dingo foot prints, reflective of the Dingo Fence inscribed into surface combined with the map symbol for swamp [ap]



Figure 71 View towards the palm and cube reference of suburbia [ap]

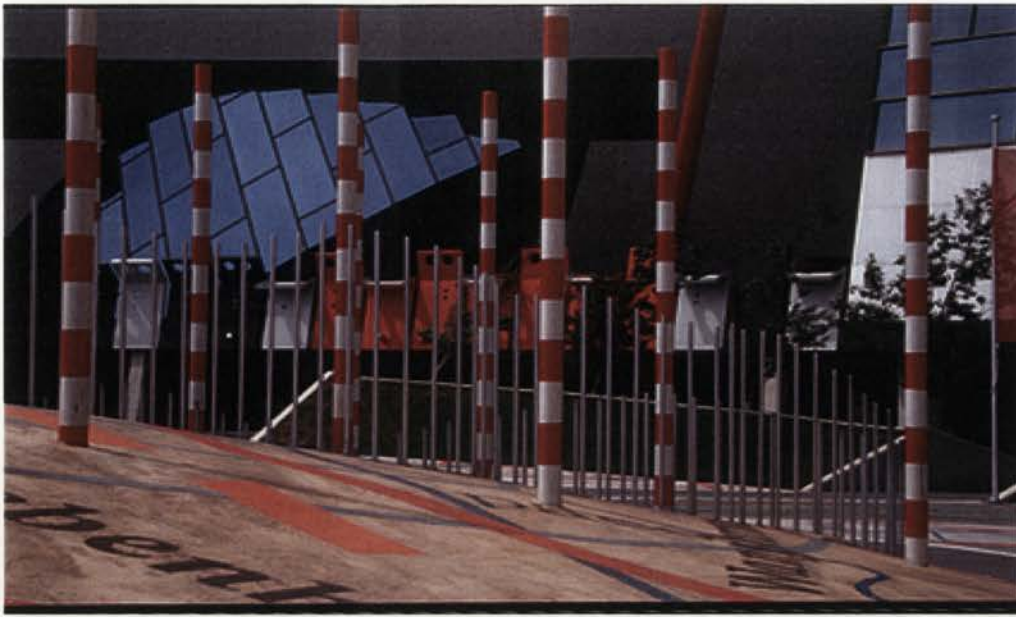


Figure 72 Red and white poles reference Jeffery Smart's iconic painting and surveyor poles [ap]

An iconic suburban backyard was included (Figure 71), with a well-kept area of grass, swimming pool, barbeque and a palm. The suburban lawn was interrupted by an X, a sign used by many Aboriginal people to sign documents often under duress, in a reference to contested land ownership and indigenous land rights. Further symbols were borrowed from and referenced to iconic art works by Sydney Nolan, Arthur Boyd and Jeffery Smart whose works drew inspiration from the Australian landscape both urban and remote. The surveyor poles shown in Figure 72, for example, reference both Smart's iconic painting and the carving up of land during European settlement.

In combination these references present fragments of the nation, a collection not dissimilar to the multiple symbols and references featured within the internal display Signs of the Nation. Combined, they create a peopled landscape, a representation that Tangled Destinies struggled to achieve. As Richard Weller explained,

The design for the landscape and architecture of the National Museum of Australia has been concerned to creatively embody shifting cultural constructions of landscape and identity. It has also been concerned with finding a threshold between the virtual and the real, between the popular and the academic, different ideas of landscape and ideas of garden, between objects and fields.⁴⁹

Although Weller believes this design approach to be a practice of landscape architecture, in fact it shares similarities with the material thinking approach used at the Museum of Sydney

⁴⁹ Richard Weller, "Mapping the Nation," in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*, ed. Dimity Reed (Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2002). p. 128.

in its Edge of the Trees exhibit on the Museum’s forecourt. Designed as a collaboration between artists Fiona Foley and Janet Lawrence, Edge of the Trees emerged from a design competition brief written by Emmett for a sculptural installation that engaged with the site as a point of contact between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.⁵⁰ The design, shown in Figure 73, featured a symbolic forest of trees formed from timber, sandstone and steel, materials that referenced the stone pines indigenous to the site, the geology below the surface and the modern city now defining the site. Like the designers of The Garden of Australian Dreams, Foley and Lawrence did not include any historically significant artefacts. Instead, their posts operated as a framework through which to weave memories, myths and histories of place using sound, material culture and text.



Figure 73 Edge of the Trees on the forecourt of the Museum of Sydney [ap]

Layers of materials such as pippies, ash, fish and crab bones shown in Figure 74 were inlaid into the posts, evoking the Aboriginal way of life that once inhabited the site. Similarly, names of botanical plants endemic to the site were engraved into timber posts, shown in Figure 75. These scientific names were contrasted with the Eora Aborigines names for the same plants, which were carved into the stone pillars, and accompanied by a sound map, triggered by people’s presence, of Aboriginal people whispering Sydney place names in the

⁵⁰ Included in the brief were Rhys Jones’ words:… the discoverers struggling through the surf were met on the beaches by other people looking at them from the edges of the trees. Thus the same landscape perceived by the newcomers as alien, hostile or having no coherent form, was to the indigenous people their home, a familiar place, the inspiration of dreams.

Dharug language.⁵¹ These textual and aural naming references together acknowledged an enduring occupation by Aboriginal people.



Figure 74 (left) Inlaid memories [ap]



Figure 75 (right) Text inscribed into poles [ap]

Material Thinking

The material thinking shared by the Garden of Australian Dreams and the Edge of the Trees represents a significant break from the intellectual history of Tangled Destinies. Both displays maintain a curatorial practice involving the ordering of ‘things,’ but importantly in the Garden and the Edge of the Trees, this ordering departs from a temporal narrative, creating instead an overlapping of time and space. In these exhibits the designers conceptualized *and* designed the works, which maintained an integral relationship between idea and representation. As a result the ‘gap’ that was so evident in the production of Tangled Destinies between the conceptualisation and design of displays was avoided. Where text was a dominant feature of Tangled Destinies and was required to tell the stories, no additional textual interpretation is included in either of these other exhibits. Instead, visitors actively participate in the creation of new knowledge and connections.

The value of The Garden of Australian Dreams to the National Museum of Australia was questioned by the Carroll report, which concluded that visitors were unlikely to decipher

⁵¹ Dinah Dysart, ed., *Edge of the Trees* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 2000), p. 53.

the intricacies of the space, and would prefer an approach that was more self-explanatory.⁵² Controversially, and in an unprecedented amount of detail, the panel proposed the re-design of the space, suggesting for example,

Add a number of large rocks that trace the geological history of the continent. Begin with a block of Banded Iron Formation from Tom Price in Western Australia, followed by a number of blocks representing different times in Australia's history. Add planting of vegetation typical of Australia's past and present – for example, the pond and surrounds could support some of the most primitive of Australia's flora... A sundial might be added, with an explanation of how it works to help people place Australia geographically. Explanations of the tilt of the earth's axis and its effect on Australia's seasonal climate could be explored here, given the sunshine pours into the courtyard. Well-produced representations of Aboriginal rock art might modify the alienating effect of Braille embellishments on the building's surfaces.⁵³

A specialist advisory group was recommended to guide the redevelopment. Again, the designers were excluded; instead, the panel was to include 'a geologist, an ethno-botanist, an archaeologist, a palaeontologist, a specialist in soils, an indigenous Australian and a 'deep time' environmental historian.'⁵⁴ The lack of respect for the design outraged the design profession, leading Richard Weller to declare the recommendations an 'offence to our artistic integrity.'⁵⁵ Worse, the review did not acknowledge the intellectual property of the design, which under moral rights legislation required consultation with the designers. The Australian Institute of Landscape Architects, together with designers and academics protested these suggestions vigorously.

Architect and academic Dr John Macarthur observed, in a letter of support, '[t]hat new works of art and architecture can be dismissed so readily smacks to me of ideology rather than any deep consideration of national culture.'⁵⁶ Architect Richard Blythe likened the recommendations to 'an act of vandalism' reducing the design 'from its current standing as an internationally recognised and popular piece... to the absolute middle road of mediocrity.'⁵⁷ Architect Nigel Westbrook stated:

The point is simple – the Garden of Australian Dreams is not an exhibit, but a celebrated work of (landscape) architecture, one that should be registered and protected along with other fine examples of our architecture and landscape heritage. To do anything else would be an act of cultural barbarity.⁵⁸

⁵² Carroll et al., "Review of the National Museum of Australia." p.38.

⁵³ Ibid. pp. 38-39.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Georgina Safe, "Museum Designs to Court," *The Weekend Australian*, 19-20 July 2003.p.3

⁵⁶ John Macarthur, 21 July 2003.

⁵⁷ Richard Blythe, 22 July 2003.

⁵⁸ Nigel Westbrook, July 22 2003.

Missing from these defences of the Garden was any clear articulation of what exactly the design contributed to the space of the museum, as distinct from its significance to the discipline of landscape architecture. By contextualising the Garden in relation to Tangled Destinies and the contemporaneous display of the Edge of the Trees at the Museum of Sydney, it becomes clear that while the garden was produced from within the discipline of landscape architecture, the design practice itself is premised upon display techniques.

Recognition of this connection to curatorial practice can be found within critiques originating in landscape architecture, although it is not explicitly stated. Rod Barnett likened the design to ‘semantic fission,’ a term adopted by Claude Levi-Strauss to describe the production of meaning through the repositioning of signifying elements within new orders.⁵⁹ Peter Connolly concluded that the garden is constructed entirely within the space of representation, that it focuses ‘almost exclusively on the relationship between form and “meaning,” image and text, and the resonance between the two.’⁶⁰ Connolly draws analogies between this practice and architecture, and Barnett sees the link to ‘semantic fission’, but in spite of their emphasis on representation and conceptual frameworks neither recognises that this clearly aligns the design of the garden with display practices.⁶¹ As Beth Lord observed, museums are not defined by a focus on objects but instead by the practice of interpretation—in essence, the gap between ‘things and conceptual structures’—a premise shared by the Garden of Australian Dreams.⁶² The similarities to display practice were lost on the reviewers of the Carroll Report, as well as to the writers of the letters of support from the design profession.

A Linear Garden Narrative

Comparison of the Garden with the Melbourne Museum’s Forest Gallery, another ‘garden’ insertion into a museum space, provides additional evidence in support of the value of the Garden’s non-chronological approach to display. The Forest Gallery formed the centrepiece of the new Melbourne Museum that opened in 2000, the long-awaited replacement for the overcrowded Swanston Street building. Depicting an environmental history of Melbourne’s tall mountain ash forests, The Forest Gallery was conceived of as a living exhibit, a mediator between the science-technology and the culture-history exhibition

⁵⁹ Barnett, "Field of Signs." p.145.

⁶⁰ Connolly, "Cowboy Critical: The Antipodean Practice of Room 4.1.3." p.182.

⁶¹ Ibid. p.181.

⁶² Ibid. p.182.

spaces of the museum. The display was celebrated as ‘a truly multi-disciplinary exercise,’ developed by a team including botanists, zoologists, historians, engineers, landscape architects, artists and technologists.⁶³

The mandate and structure of this design team fell somewhere between those for *Tangled Destinies* and *The Garden of Australian Dreams*. It included designers as part its multi-disciplinary team, but unlike the National Museum of Australia its mandate was regional and specific. In spite of a scope constrained to the regional, the adoption of a linear chronological structure beginning with deep time history replicated similar difficulties to those experienced by *Tangled Destinies* in reconciling a recent settler history with Aboriginal history and deep time.



Figure 76 View from the museum entrance into The Water Zone. People circulating within the display are hidden from view. [ap]

According to display curator Richard Gillespie, five thematic zones of Water, Earth Processes, Climate, Fire and Human Intervention, considered ‘specific agents of change within the forest,’ formed the underlying structure for the gallery.⁶⁴ Yet a clear linear chronological progression is evident. Where *Tangled Destinies* privileged settler narratives,

⁶³ Museum Victoria, *Melbourne Museum* (Melbourne: Museum Victoria, 2001).p.8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.10.

the Forest Gallery privileges scientific deep time, and begins its chronology with concepts of Gondwanaland and plate tectonics. The first glimpse of the gallery, shown in Figure 76, offers a carefully framed view of ‘pristine nature,’ reminiscent of a Von Guerard painting of the Dandenong Ranges. Design of pedestrian circulation within this first part minimises any trace of ‘human occupation.’ Entering through the fern gully, visitors are introduced to creek ecology before emerging into Earth Processes where exhibits and displays outlining plate tectonics and geological processes are carefully designed into the replica rock walls as shown in Figure 77.



Figure 77 Earth Processes zone with displays embedded within the artificial rocks [ap]

The central part of the display presents the flora and fauna of the woodland ecology: a recreated bush land of eucalypts, complete with live lizards, snakes and birds. This area also introduces the first representation of human interaction, presenting the Kullin people’s (the traditional owners) seven seasonal understanding of the Yarra valley.⁶⁵ The final two zones of Fire and Human Intervention focus on the various ways that people see and interact with the forest. While Human Interventions includes cultural references such as tourism and sanctuary, the final zone overwhelmingly features the rapid ecological modification of the forest following European occupation, and includes forestry, mining and the dislocation of Aboriginal people. The message of destruction is reinforced by the transition from the use of live vegetation, evident throughout the rest of the display, to the use of

⁶⁵ These seasons include the Eel season, the Wombat season, the Orchid season, the Tadpole season, the Grass Flowering season, the Kangaroo-Apple season and the dry season.

dramatic tall timber poles (Figure 78) that, while intending to depict the scale of the monumental mountain ash forest, could equally be read as an image of environmental destruction.

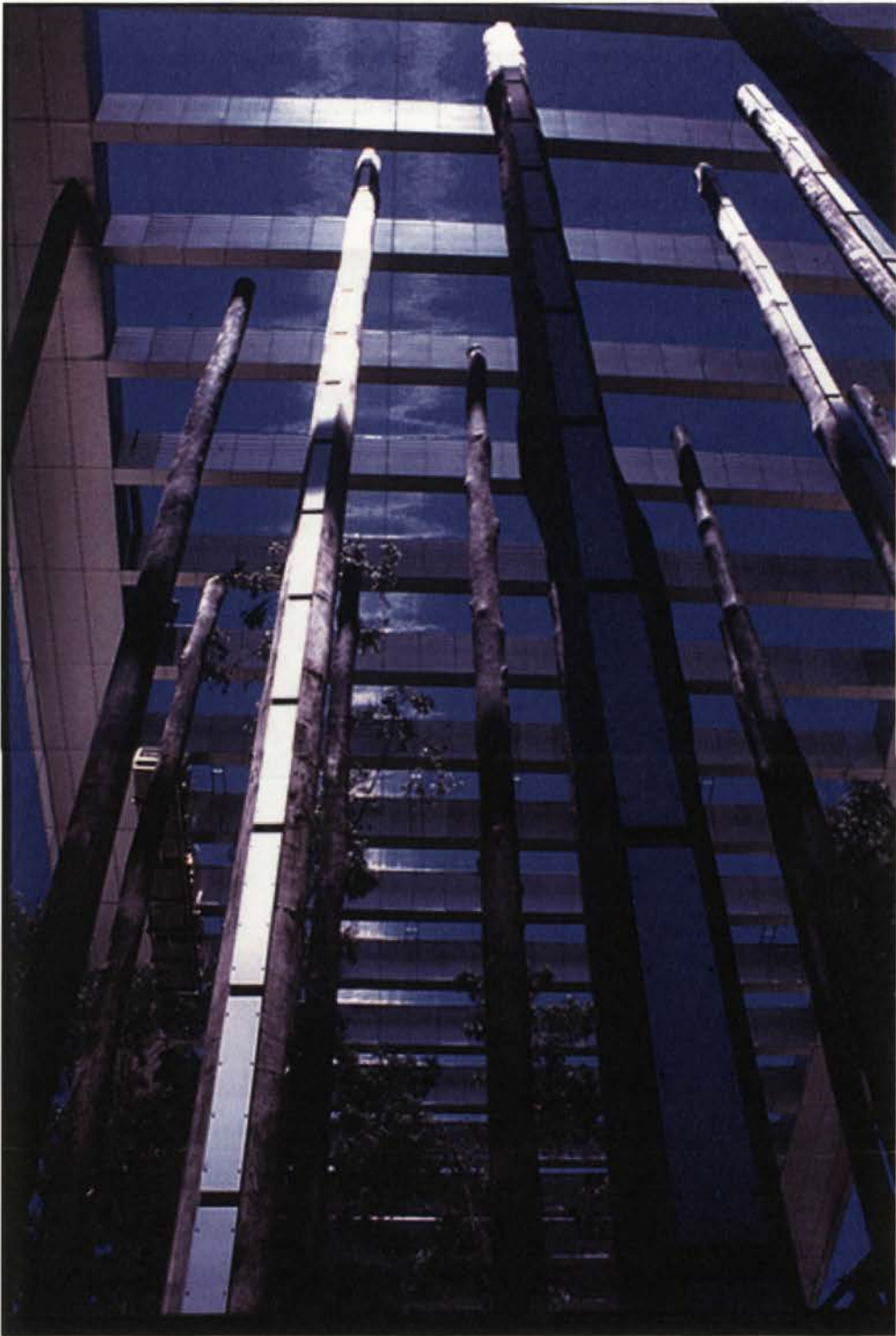


Figure 78 Human Intervention and Fire Zone [ap]

The Forest Gallery reverses the temporal narrative of Tangled Destinies by inserting settler and indigenous perspectives into a deep time scientific framing. However this framing

presents new difficulties, requiring the positioning of the Aboriginal Kullin people twice, first within the bush setting, located temporally and spatially at a mid-point between deep time nature and contemporary culture, and again within the Human Intervention zone, as a reference to a contemporary enduring culture. The extreme temporal disjuncture between deep time scientific framings and a settler history less than 250 years old, both presented within a single linear time frame, presents a dominant reading of the negative environmental impact of European settlement.

Conversely, as demonstrated by *Tangled Destinies*, leading with settler history presents difficulties with representing deep time history and the long and enduring occupation of Aboriginal people. On one level this temporal quandary echoes the unprecedented temporal leap between the 'time of the colonised and that of the coloniser' that mystified early twentieth century anthropologists such as Spencer. In this case, the difficulty has not been resolved by privileging deep time history, which, although more compatible with Aboriginal historical timeframes, is equally unable to reconcile the short settler history.

The display technique of juxtaposition adopted in *The Garden of Australian Dreams* and *the Edge of the Trees* avoid these temporal problems while successfully displaying relationships and stories between people and place, despite the absence of 'authentic artefact'. John MacKenzie commented in 1999 that museums ought to have 'been greatly helped by the blurring of the distinction between the museum and the gallery' adding that 'major messages can be conveyed through the inter-penetration of fine art and design, image and instrument, imagination and industry.'⁶⁶ In spite of MacKenzie's insight, the heated debate over the Garden, combined with negative responses to the Museum of Sydney, demonstrates the considerable disciplinary hostility towards the legitimacy of creative display practices within the museum.

Historian Linda Young described the Garden of Australian Dreams as 'a pastiche of postmodern conceits' both 'brutal and bewildering.'⁶⁷ She went on to congratulate the museum for avoiding

⁶⁶ John M. MacKenzie, "People and Landscape: The Environment and National Identities in Museums," in *National Museums Negotiating Histories Conference Proceedings*, ed. Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner (Canberra: Published by the National Museum of Australia in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research and the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy, 2001), p. 179.

⁶⁷ Linda Young, "Federation Flagship," *Meanjin* 60, no. 4 (2001). p.159.

...the trend to commission artists to cannibalise museum collections for quaint bizarre effects. In such works, which infest the Melbourne Museum and various other institutions, ignorant artists trivialise the makers, users and collectors of historic natural and curatorial material.⁶⁸

As discussed earlier, Young's comments were countered by equally defensive claims from the design professions of architecture and landscape architecture. Neither position advances an understanding of the design practice that created the work. The design defence was premised on authority, more concerned with who produced the design rather than how the design was produced. By focusing on practice rather than discipline, this study has revealed that the contribution of the practice that generated the garden, contrary to the claims of its designer, is not particular to landscape architecture and in fact offers a way to reconcile the challenges presented by the intellectual revisions of the museum display briefs.

.....

The explicit 'national' framing for the museum proved challenging for displays engaging with environment and landscape. This ambitious scope was broadened even further by the desire to reconnect the three diverse temporalities of Aboriginal, settler and natural history within a single exhibit. Adding to this complexity was the aim of displaying relationships between people and place, which conflicted with the mandate to be representative of the nation. *Tangled Destinies* and *The Garden of Australian Dreams* adopted two very different display practices to achieve this common aim. I argue that while heralded for its intellectual philosophy, considerable difficulties are evident in the translation of the ambitious intellectual agendas of *Tangled Destinies* into display practice. The new practices struggled to develop a 'constructive' intersection between natural, social and indigenous histories, turning to textual storytelling and thereby eroding curatorial display practices, which in turn led to representational difficulties when it came to displaying relationships between people and place.

By approaching the same challenge from a design practice of 'material thinking', landscape architects Room 4.1.3. avoided the difficulties of chronology and representativeness by adopting a strategy of designed juxtaposition, deliberately presenting a fragment of nation. Despite the absence of 'authentic' artefact, this representation approach permitted them to make cultural references to landscape, a perspective that *Tangled Destinies* struggled to

⁶⁸ Ibid. p.159.

achieve. While the Carroll report questions *The Garden of Australian Dreams* as a display practice, I argue that the 'material thinking' that underpins the design in fact offers a valid curatorial practice for addressing the ambitious geographical and temporal scope of 'nation,' enabling the display of relationships between people and place, while liberating display from the limits of both chronology and artefact.

Chapter Seven

A Cultural National Park

The final two chapters of this study return to the national parks to examine how the revised political and intellectual frameworks encompassing indigenous culture, nation and landscape were manifest in the physical and representational space of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks. This chapter focuses on the physical space of the parks as they were in the period 2005-2007, and compares the design of major infrastructure including tourist accommodation, significant access routes, major viewing points and walks with the philosophies of management plans produced throughout the 1990s discussed in Chapter Four. The chapter then explores more closely the visitor's experience of 'being in' the landscape, focusing on the prized 'backcountry' tramps of Tongariro and the shorter walks around Uluru and Kata Tjuta.

Choreographing the National Park

The physical transformation of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga into Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park was shaped by the coincidence of two politically-independent developments. Post-hand back management strategies were introduced, which re-conceived of the park as an Anangu cultural landscape, and which included the right for the traditional owners to live within the park. Secondly, a decision was made prior to hand back to remove all major tourist infrastructure to Yulara, a newly-constructed self-contained town four kilometres from the park boundary. These developments combined to significantly revise the tourist infrastructure within the park and the subsequent relationship between tourists, the traditional owners and the national park.

Post-hand back Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park has attracted considerable academic attention, and has been analysed by numerous scholars from cultural, post colonial and indigenous studies. Frequently the park has been framed as a barometer of post colonial Australian race relations. Figueroa and McGee, for example, explore the park as a 'moral gateway between indigenous and non-indigenous people.'¹ Many scholars, including Baker, Digance, James, Shackley, Whittaker and Robinson, have fixated on the continued climbing

¹ Gordon Waitt, Robert Figueroa, and Lana McGee, "Fissures in the Rock: Rethinking Pride and Shame in the Moral Terrains of Uluru," *Royal Geographical Society* (2007).

of the rock.² Consistent in these studies is the framing of Uluru-Kata-Tjuta as a 'contested' space of settler society. A sense of the park as an enduring physical space, as distinct from a discursive space, is often missing in these accounts. More surprising is the lack of consideration of the impact of Yulara on the post-hand back tourist experience, with Barry Hill's 1994 book *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru* a rare exception.³

The first part of this chapter examines how the intentions of the post-hand back management plans combined with the construction of Yulara to alter the design of major infrastructure within the park and the subsequent tourist experience. This analysis explores in detail how the theoretical and political revisions underlying hand back and joint management translated into spatial intervention. My intention is to identify the extent to which rhetoric was realised in the visitor experience. I investigate this through a comparison of the major physical infrastructure of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park inclusive of tourist accommodation, significant access routes and viewing points, with historic development patterns and intentions expressed in the management plan.⁴ The same analytical approach is then applied to Tongariro National Park.⁵

This examination demonstrates that the tourist experience of post-hand back Uluru-Kata Tjuta has altered significantly as a result of the repositioning of the park as a cultural landscape. In contrast, the major tourist infrastructure at Tongariro, while expanded, remains consistent with historic patterns of interaction first established in the early part of its history. The opening of Yulara reshaped the infrastructure and tourist experience of Uluru-Kata Tjuta in three significant ways. Tourists were confined within an 'oasis-like' compound, which generated a new space of 'exclusive' tourism between the national park and Yulara, which in turn created a more tightly-choreographed encounter with the national park. The physical space of the national park, however, in no real measure matches the comprehensive 'rewriting' of the space as an Anangu cultural landscape as described in the management plans. Instead, a disjuncture between old and new park values is evident: a

² Richard Baker, "Interpreting Heritage within the Contested Landscape of Uluru," (Human Geography series, ANU, 2004), Justine Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites," *Annals of Tourism research* 30, no. 1 (2003), Sarah James, "Constructing the Climb: Visitor Decision-Making at Uluru," *Geographical Research* 45, no. 4 (2007), Sarah James, "Negotiating the Climb: Uluru - a Site of Struggle or a Shared Space?," in *Research Paper No 24* (Melbourne: School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, The University of Melbourne, 2005), Cathy Robinson, Richard Baker, and Lynette Liddle, "Journeys through an Australia Sacred Landscape," *Museum International* 55, no. 2 (2003), Myra Shackley, "Tourist Consumption of Sacred Landscapes Space, Time and Vision," *Tourism Recreation Research* 29, no. 1 (2004), Elvi Whittaker, "Public Discourse on Sacredness: The Transfer of Ayers Rock to Aboriginal Ownership," *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 2 (1994).

³ Barry Hill, *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994).

⁴ Field trips to Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park occurred in 2004 and 2006.

⁵ Tongariro National Park was visited on multiple occasions between 2001 and 2007.

'new' interpretative layer of Anangu cultural values is simply superimposed over the existing infrastructure, which maintains its earlier role in supporting perception of the park as spectacle and the climb as central to that spectacle. I argue that this results not only in a confused message to tourists, but also demonstrates reliance on educational agendas to reshape tourist interactions. The reshaping of these interactions has been not been integrated into a comprehensive spatial restructuring of the park despite suggestions to the contrary in the management plans.

Journeying to the National Parks

Despite improvements in transportation, a trip to Uluru in the twenty-first century remains a pilgrimage to a remote desert landscape. The trip continues to require extensive advance planning, given the majority of tourism occurs during the cooler months between April and September. Two types of tourist journeys to Uluru are evident. The first positions a visit as part of a broader 'Territory' experience, a trip encompassing other Northern Territory destinations such as Kakadu National Park, Kings Canyon, Darwin and Alice Springs. Whether forming part of an organised coach trip or undertaken as an independent traveller, this trip involves vast distances by road. As it was for the earliest tourists, the journey to Uluru requires a 500km 'backtrack' from the Stuart Highway turnoff, some 200kms south of Alice Springs.

The alternative is to arrive by plane. Cheaper air travel combined with increased international tourism finds tourists flying directly into Ayers Rock Airport, now relocated ten kilometres north of the National Park. With airfares as little as \$380 one way from Perth, Cairns and Sydney, the trip may be a weekend destination, or part of a sequence of visits to other iconic Australian sites including the Great Barrier Reef and the Opera House.⁶ Some international travellers 'collect' all three in as little as three days. Regardless of the mode of travel, all travellers experience the anticipation of the 'first glimpse' of Uluru. From the road, the flat desert landscape allows the visitor unimpeded views for tens of kilometres. Many are fooled by the flat-topped Mt Conner, visible from half way between the Stewart Highway turnoff and Uluru shown in Figure 79, before the 'real' rock reveals itself on the distant horizon as shown in Figure 80.

⁶ Price quoted from Qantas website August 2009. Prices include \$391 one way from Sydney, \$380 one way from Cairns and \$333 one way from Melbourne.



Figure 79 'False' sighting: Mt Conner on the way to Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park [ap]



Figure 80 A distant Uluru reveals itself on the horizon [ap]

Visual expectation is also central to the journey to Tongariro. The mountainous topography surrounding Tongariro, however, reduces the impact of the first glimpse of the volcanic peaks. Rather than the gradual magnification of Uluru as visitors move through the flat desert landscape, the volcanoes first reveal themselves from behind the surrounding mountains, before unfolding their full extent from the flatter central volcanic plateau. This all-encompassing view, depicted in the postcard shown in Figure 81, is not, however, guaranteed. Unlike the inevitability of seeing Uluru, there is a real possibility that tourists may visit Tongariro and not see the volcanoes at all, which may well be obscured by low clouds and mist. Therefore while the National Park is not perceived as isolated wilderness but is normalised within the settlement patterns of the North Island, the visual spectacle of the volcanoes remains unreliable, dependent on fluctuating weather patterns. The landscape itself is equally unpredictable: Mt Ruapehu erupted spectacularly in 1996 and again in 1997, while the mountain's Crater Lake burst in March 2007. Although now accessible all year round, a trip to Tongariro remains as unpredictable as it was for late-nineteenth century visitors.



Figure 81 Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu revealed on a clear day (Multi-card from Tongariro National Park Kahu Publishing 1995)

Continuing Patterns

Once-remote Tongariro National Park is now enmeshed in the development of the North Island's central plateau, and has evolved into a year-round destination. Located within four hours of Auckland and Wellington, Tongariro is considered a weekend destination for domestic visitors, as well as a feature of international tourist's explorations of the North Island, and is easily accessed by rail, car or bus. Unlike the one-way journey to Uluru, visitors can access Tongariro from multiple directions. As shown in Figures 82 and 83, the park is ringed by towns. National Park, Ohakune and Turangi all provide tourist accommodation and facilities. Continuing historic infrastructural patterns, visitors can elect to stay outside the boundaries of the park, or opt to stay within the park in Whakapapa Village, or even further up Mt Ruapehu in Iwikau ski village. Consistent with the National Park Act 1952, entrance into Tongariro remains free for the enjoyment of all New Zealanders. No formal entrance station marks the park's boundary, only a sign (Figure 84) that highlights the park's status as both National Park and World Heritage Area.

Whakapapa Village has expanded considerably from its beginnings and now offers accommodation ranging from camping grounds and caravan sites to lodges and hotels, as well as shops, a café and the visitor centre. Despite this growth, the approach to the village, shown in Figure 85, maintains the picturesque view captured in the railway posters of the 1920s that depicted the golf course, the Chateau and a distant Mt Ruapehu. Whakapapa continues to operate as a service village rather than a resort experience, a pattern that is repeated further up Mt Ruapehu at Iwikau Village. Iwikau has evolved from a smattering of tramping and ski clubs established after World War II into a collection of 47 club ski lodges, chalet, hotels and tourist facilities scattered across the lava landscape, as depicted in Figure 86.

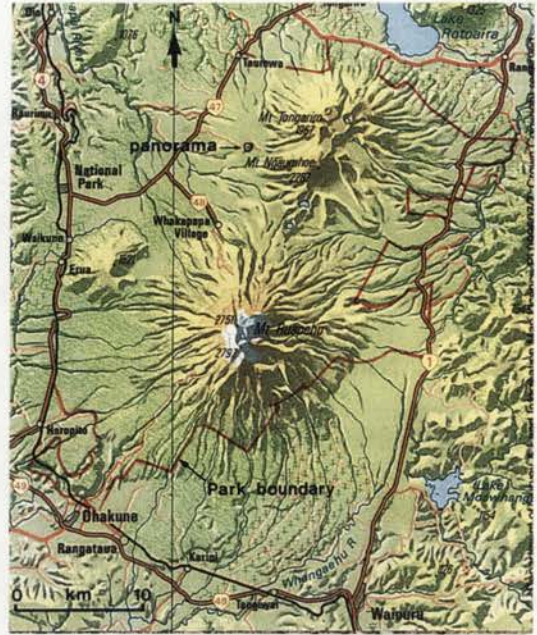


Figure 82 (left) Map of the Ruapehu region (Ruapehu Visitor Guide 2006 p.33.)
 Figure 83 (right) National Park Boundaries (Multi card from Tongariro National Park Kahu Publishing 1995)



Figure 84 Entrance sign on Tongariro National Park's boundary [ap]

Major patterns of infrastructure including accommodation and access roads have remained largely unchanged since the introduction of skiing, although the facilities for the ski fields have grown significantly. Mt Ruapehu is now the largest lift-accessible ski terrain in New Zealand and has the longest vertical drop in Australasia. As New Zealand's largest (1800 hectares) and most accessible ski field, it alone attracts over 50% of all tourists to the park,

operating as a 'winter wonderland' from mid June until the end of October and accommodating up to 6500 people a day.⁷ Ski-fields and chair lifts have over time stretched further up Mt Ruapehu, as shown in Figure 87, but the 'pristine' areas of the volcanic peaks remain free of infrastructure.



Figure 85 Approach to Whakapapa Village which still features Chateau Tongariro (Promart Art postcard)



Figure 86 Alpine lodges and facilities at Iwikau Village [ap]

⁷ Department of Conservation, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan (Draft)," (Turangi: Department of Conservation, 2003).p.157.



Figure 87 Whakapapa ski-fields on Mt Ruapehu (Mt Ruapehu postcard)

The Yulara Experience

The opening of Yulara in 1984 combined with post-hand back management strategies to reshape significantly the tourist experience of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. All major tourist infrastructure was relocated to Yulara, 4 kms from the park's entrance, 14 kms from Uluru and over 50kms from Kata-Tjuta. Championed for its ecological and aesthetic response to the desert environment, Yulara has been the recipient of many awards including the 1985 Sir Zelman Cowan Award for Architecture.⁸ While the design of Yulara has been critiqued in relation to sustainable tourist developments, minimal attention has been paid to its impact on the tourist experience of the national park itself.

The decision to construct Yulara was made prior to hand back. Promoted as a 'new' Northern Territory town, plans for Yulara originally featured an Anangu village that would not only provide accommodation and community facilities, but would also provide tourist opportunities to view 'authentic Aborigines.'⁹ Hand back interrupted the Northern Territory government's vision for concentrating both tourists and Anangu at Yulara.

⁸ Other awards include the 1985 Australian Tourism Award for Best Resort and the 1986 Australian Institute of Landscape Architects Award for Infrastructure.

⁹ While Anangu were interested in maintaining an economic relationship with tourism, they were resistant to separating commercial and community interests. Anangu were only interested in commercial ventures within Yulara if they could continue to live at the rock and maintain Ininti Store and garage. The Ininti Store and Garage, established in the park in 1972, operated as a nucleus for the Anangu community while also offering services to tourists.

Instead, the traditional owners opted to live within the national park at the permit-controlled community of Mutitjulu located on the southern side of Uluru, leaving Yulara reduced to tourist accommodation and associated facilities. The tourist experience of Yulara, subsequently renamed Voyagers Ayers Rock Resort in 1996, differs significantly from the earlier tourist experience of staying within the park itself. Tourists are now contained within a self-contained 'designed' oasis, separated from both the desert landscape and Anangu.

Designing a Desert Oasis

The task of developing Yulara was assigned to the Northern Territory government, and was considered a key project for their newly-declared self-governing status.¹⁰ Originally Yulara was conceived as a town rather than a tourist resort, which, when fully occupied, would form the third largest population in the Northern Territory.¹¹ Construction was rapid, taking less than 30 months from design concept to handover.¹² Architects Philip Cox and Partners, landscape architects Environmental Landscapes and engineers Ove Arup were responsible for the design.¹³ According to Cox, the scheme aimed to respond to the unique desert aesthetic as well as to operate in a compact, energy efficient manner, replacing what he described as the haphazard 'bush ghetto' that had emerged around the base of Uluru.¹⁴ As an alternative, Cox proposed that Yulara should project a feeling of 'Australianness,' yet paradoxically cited three international precedents as design inspiration – the spatial qualities of a medieval town, the inspiration of a Greek acropolis and Persian principles of oasis.¹⁵

Yulara was sited outside the national park and nestled into the swales of the sand dunes. A central spine of development was proposed, oriented east-west to minimize exposure to the harsh western sun, shown in Figure 88. Hotels were located at either end of an internal pedestrian street, intended as 'magnets of attraction' in a reference to the planning principles of a shopping centre.¹⁶ The pedestrian spine was planned as an integrated social unit, with housing, commercial and civic uses, tourist and staff mixed along its length. Visitors would arrive at the major entrance to the village, which included an amphitheatre,

¹⁰ In 1978, the Northern Territory was granted responsible government, no longer under the control of the Federal government.

¹¹ "The Sir Zelman Cowen Award," *Architecture Australia* (1985). p.22.

¹² Philip Cox and Andy Park, *Yulara* (Sydney: Panda Books, 1986). p.60.

¹³ Catherin Bull, "Sustainable Tourism in Remote Australia: Strategies for Physical Planning and Infrastructure" (PhD, Harvard University, 1990). p. 335.

¹⁴ Cox and Park, *Yulara*. p. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 93.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 64.

museum and information centre, (Figure 89), then progress along a sequence of articulated spaces and walled gardens spaces before reaching the village square, shown in Figure 90. Elaborate shade sails were proposed for the walkways and buildings, a design feature that became emblematic of Yulara.



Figure 88 Scale model of Yulara Village, (Cox and Park, *Yulara*: Sydney: Panda Books, 1986 p.64.)

Despite claiming a strong relationship to the landscape, the design concept was premised on the separation of the town from the desert, which reinforced notions of the desert as a harsh and unforgiving frontier. The citation for the Sir Zelman Cowen Award, for example, states '[e]ven though the desert touches, possibly grasps its edges, the town gives a sense of security from the apparently infinite and ruthless desert.'¹⁷ Cox himself described the development as a stand-alone environment, separated from the 'untamed nature' of the national park.¹⁸



Figure 89 Arrival point including the amphitheatre and information centre [ap]

¹⁷ Ibid, "The Sir Zelman Cowen Award." p.22.

¹⁸ Cox and Park, *Yulara*. p. 102.



Figure 90 The village square [ap]

Concentrating the development within an inward-looking desert oasis challenges the designer's claims of being responsive to the desert environment. Major hotels and external spaces were oriented inward, clearly evident in the postcard shown in Figure 91, turning their back on the surrounding desert landscape to focus instead on the swimming pools, lush grass and gardens. As landscape architect Catherin Bull concluded in her 1991 study '[w]hile the architectural design is innovative and presents a dramatic visual complement to the surroundings, it does not encourage engagement beyond its walls.'¹⁹



Figure 91 Post card of Ayers Rock Resort (Bakers Souvenirs)

¹⁹ Bull, "Sustainable Tourism in Remote Australia: Strategies for Physical Planning and Infrastructure". p. 123.



Figure 92 View from town square towards the 'external' desert environment [ap]

Yulara works in opposition to the desert environment by establishing a space of refuge, a philosophy that extends to the design of the external spaces, that according to the landscape architects adopted 'the best of Australian native flowering species' as a 'contrast with the harsh desert.'²⁰ The ever-present fabric sails further emphasise the separation of tourist from desert. As the view in Figure 92 demonstrates, the desert landscape of dunes, casuarinas and spinifex remain outside the tourist-occupied space, the sails visually framing the vast horizontal lines of the landscape. Without an engagement with the desert landscape as either experience or ecology, references to the desert are limited to an interpretation of a desert aesthetic.²¹ Cox expressed the intent 'to enhance the desert outback experience' through materials such as 'corrugated iron, steel mesh sunscreens, and masonry painted in the ochres and reds of the desert.'²²

An emphasis on environmental self-sufficiency paralleled this insular approach. Over 3000m² of solar collectors was planned to provide heating and hot water, which at the time was the largest single solar collection in Australia.²³ Attached buildings consolidated the development footprint and limited exposure of glass windows to the sun; double roofs deflected the sun's rays, while extensive verandas provided shade. The artesian system provides fresh water, while recycled water maintains the lush green areas of the central spaces. Yet despite citing inspiration from the unique desert environment, the planning and architecture design for Yulara combined to produce not only a remarkably urban

²⁰ Introduction, Cox and Park, *Yulara*.

²¹ Ibid. p.97.

²² "The Sir Zelman Cowen Award." p. 22.

²³ Cox and Park, *Yulara*. p.95.

development, but a design that shares many similarities with the urban renewal scheme for the inner Sydney suburb of Woolloomooloo, conceived in a similar period by the same architects and landscape architects.²⁴

The Resort Experience

Physically, socially and economically, Yulara developed very differently from what the designers and the Northern Territory government intended. The ‘village feel’ of mixing workers and tourists within the single development was not achieved, with workers choosing to live away from tourist facilities in a mix of houses and dormitories. Only the northern spine of tourist facilities achieves a compact ecologically-sensitive form. Comparison between the resort map (Figure 93) and aerial image (Figure 94) clearly illustrates this separation of tourist and staff facilities and the resulting suburban town layout. A major siting contradiction accompanies this sprawling development: the supermarket, shops and cafés are up to a kilometre away from the accommodation for independent travellers. Visitors staying in the more distant camping grounds and cheaper hostel accommodation must drive, wait for a shuttle bus, or face a long hot walk to reach these facilities.

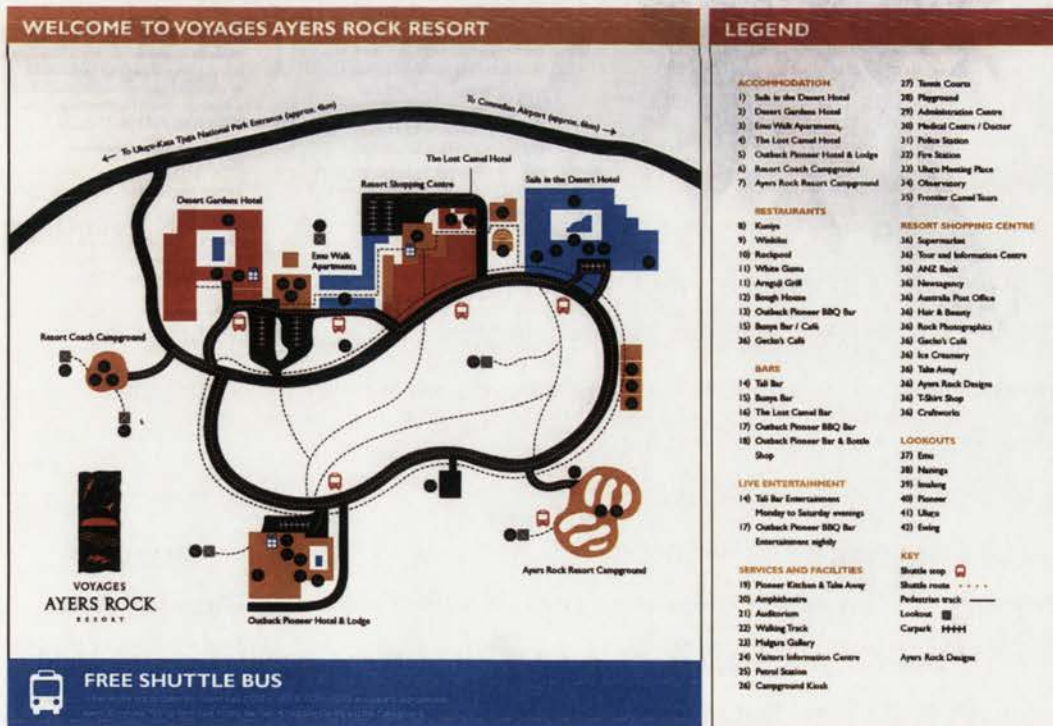


Figure 93 Map of Voyages Ayers Rock Resort 2007 (The Wapar, p.8.)

²⁴ Plans for the redevelopment of the inner city suburb of Woolloomooloo were prepared in 1976.



Figure 94 Aerial of Voyagers Ayers Rock Resort 2008 www.earthgoogle.com

Potentially, the more distant camping areas offer a more immersive experience of the desert landscape than the consolidated urban spine of hotels and amenities. Ayers Rock Campground caters for independent travellers with 198 powered camping sites, unpowered sites, cabins, a swimming pool, shop, tennis courts, and amenities. However, during peak tourist season tents, camping vans, and caravans are tightly crowded into the allocated spaces, creating an experience reminiscent of a suburban caravan park. The coach camping area, sited in the area originally proposed for the Aboriginal village, offers the most intimate landscape-oriented experience, well separated from the noise and lights of the resort. Any feeling of solitude and remoteness, however, is lost in the mass camping experience offered by bus tours.

Yulara struggled economically throughout the 1980s and early 1990s despite offering the only accommodation option near Uluru-Kata Tjuta. In 1991 Yulara was 'rebranded' Ayers Rock Resort, repositioning the development as a destination resort. A return to a pre-hand back name points to the continuing friction between the ideologies of the Northern Territory government-controlled Yulara and the Commonwealth government-controlled National Park. In 1996, the resort was sold for approximately \$220 million to General Property Trust of Ayers Rock Management Pty Ltd, a price considered one third of the

resort's replacement value.²⁵ It was again renamed, this time as Voyages Ayers Rock Resort, and became one of a chain of Australian-wide resorts that includes Kings Canyon, Lizard Island, Kings Canyon Resort and El Questro Wilderness Park.²⁶

Two economic shortcomings continue to trouble the resort. There is limited employment of local Aboriginal people, despite various attempts to encourage training and employment. Although the resort employs 800 staff on a regular basis, no member of the Mutitjulu community was employed in the resort in 2004.²⁷ However, Voyages continues to encourage Aboriginal involvement, establishing the Mutitjulu Foundation in 2003 to raise funds for education, training at the resort, as well as health and education services.²⁸ A second contributing factor is the length of tourist stay, which has declined from 1.95 nights (pre-hand back) to 1.6 nights.²⁹ Ninety percent of visitors stay for just a single night, which in part can be attributed to the cheaper and direct airfares to Uluru. Unfortunately, this not only fails to maximise the tourist dollar but also works against two major goals of the management plan, namely that tourists should slow down and experience the landscape, and that Anangu should gain economic self-sufficiency through tourism.

An Exclusive Experience

Since 2000, a further space of 'exclusive' tourism has emerged, situated geographically between Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort and the national park. The luxury wilderness escape of Longitude 131 and the fine dining experience of Sounds of Silence, both run by Voyagers-Ayers Rock Resort, provide at additional cost an escape from the mass experience of the resort and (according to advertising material) a more intimate experience of the desert landscape. Closer examination of these experiences reveals that the desert remains a scenic backdrop to a primary tourist experience of luxury. Longitude 131, promoted as a desert camping experience, is limited to fifteen 'tented sanctuaries' scattered on a sand dune on the edge of the park (Figure 95). The resort is marketed as both exclusive and sustainable and is described as 'one of the best wilderness hotels in the world,' 'designed with meticulous attention to detail and unprecedented awareness of the

²⁵ Erwin Chlanda, "20 Years On: Looking Back over the Resorts Rocky Road," *Alice Springs News* 2004.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ An extra \$2 is added to each room's account, which is removed on request. This sum is matched to a maximum of \$200,000 each year by the resort. In 2005 the Voyagers Hotel & Resorts in partnership with Nyangatjatjara College was awarded a Prime Minister's Award for Excellence in Community Business Partnership for facilitating the transition of indigenous youth in central Australia into employment and further education.

²⁹ Shackley, "Tourist Consumption of Sacred Landscapes Space, Time and Vision." p. 69.

cultural and environmental sensitivity of the areas.³⁰ Considered a 'five-star wilderness experience,' the resort provides 'the illusion of camping.' This illusion costs \$4200 for a twin room or \$3,422 for a single room for a minimum two-day stay.³¹



Figure 95 Longitude 131 (www.longitude131.com.au)

Opened in June 2002, Longitude 131 was one of the first resort developments approved under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999.³² There are, however, contradictions in the claims of sustainability given that, apart from solar heating of hot water, all power, water and waste removal is provided by Voyages Ayers Rock Resort, 1.4km away. While the scheme may appear visually to respond to the desert environment, and appears to be designed to have minimal impact on the dune systems, the extensive infrastructure including the swimming pool, reverse-cycle air conditioning, full private bathrooms and road access for just thirty people does not reflect ecological sustainability. Beyer et al. concluded in their study of Longitude 131 that given the low occupancy rate and the quality of service necessary to justify expensive tariffs, the facility would in fact have a high ecological footprint.³³ Similarly, claims of a wilderness experience are questionable. The tourist remains buffered from the climatic conditions of the desert landscape by solid architectural elements, air conditioning and luxury amenities.

Landscape is reduced to a scenic backdrop and controlled like a picture, an approach inadvertently highlighted in the promotional material that proudly states '[t]he flick of a bedside switch is all it takes to raise the blinds and witness the iconic spectacle of The Rock as sunrise.'³⁴ In an image reminiscent of the Chateau Tongariro tea-drinkers in Chapter Two, a publicity photo shown in Figure 97 depicts the desert as a benign visual backdrop to the relaxing recreational pursuits of the tourist and continuing to frame Uluru as visual

³⁰ Northern Territory Tourist Commission, "Northern Territory Central Australia" (2005-2006).p. 37.

³¹ "Outback," *Qantas Magazine*, December 2005. p. 48.

³² David Beyer et al., "Best Practice Model for Low-Impact Nature-Based Sustainable Tourism Facilities in Remote Areas," (CRC for Sustainable Tourism, 2005). p.16.

³³ *Ibid.* p.19.

³⁴"Outback." p. 48.

spectacle. Longitude 131 commodifies the experience of being in the landscape and reduces the experience to scenic appreciation. The tourist is lulled into a belief in environmental sustainability while at no time having to modify their behaviour or consumption in response to a fragile, arid ecology. However as demonstrated by comparison with the crowded 'suburban' camp experience offered by Ayers Rock Campground, reflected in Figure 98, a far more immersive experience of the desert environment is provided at Longitude 131.



Figure 96 'Camping' at Longitude 131 (www.longitude131.com.au)



Figure 97 The luxury interior of the 'tent' (www.longitude131.com.au)



Figure 98 Powered site Ayers Rock Resort Campground. \$47 a night for a family [ap]

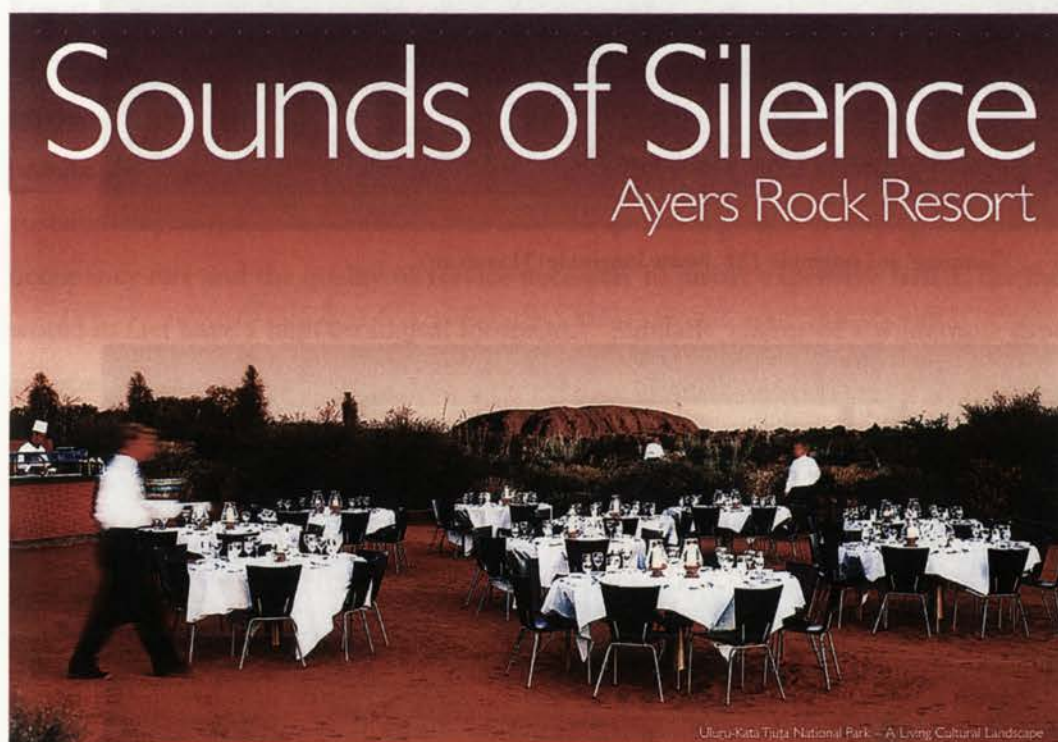


Figure 99 Sounds of Silence Advertisement 2006, Voyagers-Ayers Rock Resort

The Sounds of Silence Tour offers an affordable and short escape from the Resort. For \$155 for adults and \$79 for children, tourists are offered a four hour trip to a secluded sand dune to 'listen to the haunting sounds of a lone didgeridoo as you watch the spectacular

colours of the sunset over Uluru and Kata Tjuta’ and to ‘dine out on sumptuous outback fare.’³⁵ Advertising, shown in Figure 99, continues to depict Uluru as a scenic background to a luxury experience, this time fine dining. Both Longitude 131 and Sounds of Silence capitalise on the limited experience offered by the mass tourism of the resort, while also introducing luxury and exclusivity to the previous frontier experience. As Bell and Lyall noted in their analysis of global tourism, ‘silence’ is now a commodity in the age of mass tourism.³⁶

The construction of Yulara-Voyages Ayers Rock Resort has altered the earlier patterns of interaction between the tourist and national park in three significant ways. The delineation between the traditional owners and tourists has been formalised in the creation of separate spaces for the resort and Mutitjulu, a permit-controlled Aboriginal settlement within the national park. Tourists have been separated from the desert landscape and cocooned within an ‘oasis-like’ compound, effectively mandating their experience remains one of visual interaction only. Finally, an alternative space of ‘exclusive’ tourism has emerged, situated between the national park and the resort, which has created a false sense of both landscape engagement and sustainability.

Old Script, New Values

Yulara-Voyages Ayers Rock Resort has contributed significantly to the redefinition of the tourist experience of the national park. No longer able to stay in the national park, tourists must now enter and leave the park each day, returning to their accommodation outside the park. A revised park experience, premised upon an engagement with an Anangu cultural landscape, parallels this new physical relationship. Park management considered education vital to the revised tourist encounter, and attempted to develop this by adopting three strategies: an Aboriginal cultural centre envisaged as a first point of encounter for tourists, the revision of bus tour content, and the preparation of interpretive information.

Although this new interpretive layer is evident, the physical infrastructure of roads, major viewing points and gathering nodes remains largely unchanged. Tourists themselves are required to reconcile the physical evidence of previous attitudes and understandings of the park with the textual and verbal evidence encountered in brochures, guided tours and

³⁵ ‘Sound of Silence’ Voyages Ayers Rock Resort Brochure 2009 prices

³⁶ Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime : Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2001), p. 43.

interaction with park staff. The revised educative agenda has not been supported by a comprehensive spatial revision. Consequently, in spite of the comprehensive ‘rewriting’ of the space as an Anangu cultural landscape in management plans, the tourist must negotiate a confusing collage of pre- and post-hand back park values embedded within the park infrastructure.

Conflicting messages regarding the ‘correct’ tourist interaction first emerge at the park’s entrance. The park entrance sign shown in Figure 100 clearly establishes the park as Aboriginal land first, and National Park and World Heritage area second. Yet within just 100 metres, a sign displays the status of the climb, an activity the traditional owners wish to discourage.³⁷ The information pack provided to each visitor following payment of their \$25 park entrance fee then challenges the idea of climbing, and highlights the message that traditional owners do not want tourists to climb the rock.³⁸ The conflict between old and new values intensifies as visitors progress further into the park.



Figure 100 Signage at the park’s entry indicating the park’s classification as Aboriginal Land and the status of the climb [ap]

Regulated Tours

For the majority of tourists, decisions about their interactions with the park occur well before their first encounter of physical space. The inability to control the tourist experience of the park is a major point of difference between the national park and the museum. For many visitors, an experience of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is established well before receiving any officially-produced information about the national park. The experience may be shaped principally through package tours booked from overseas via the internet or travel agencies, or even locally at the Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort.

³⁷ The climbing route is closed during periods of high winds or temperatures.

³⁸ These information packs, revised to a more user friendly brochure in 2006 introduce the park as an Anangu cultural landscape, explaining concepts such as joint management and Tjurkapa while also asking that tourists not climb the rock. This fee is valid for three consecutive day entry into the park. 25% of the entry fee goes to Anangu while 75% goes to the Department of Environment and Heritage for park maintenance and upgrading.

Following the relocation of all accommodation to the resort, bus tours have assumed an even more influential role in shaping the visitor's experience, and may now dictate the entire tourist interaction. Under the previous model, tourists staying within the park could wander around Uluru at their own leisure, even while participating in organised bus tours.

The content of bus tours however has shifted considerably to reflect new park values, a reframing that has taken many years.³⁹ Analysis of tours offered in 2006-7 reveals minimal reference to the climb. AAT Tours, one of the earliest tour operators, clearly introduces the park as an Aboriginal cultural landscape. Only one of the 12 AAT tours features the climb, and accompanies this option with the statement that ‘Anangu, Traditional Owners, would prefer that visitors choose not to climb Uluru.’⁴⁰ Other AAT tours feature the Aboriginal cultural centre, sections of the base walk, the Valley of the Winds Walk, and the ‘Uluru and Kata Tjuta Cultural Experience’ that includes Aboriginal guides from Anangu tour. These revised tourist interactions, aligned with the intentions of management plans, are supplemented by the ever-popular sunrise and sunset viewing, all of which are described in the tourist brochure shown in Figure 101.

MORNING ULURU & KATA TJUTA TOURS

Uluru Sunrise and Guided Cultural Base Walk
 HALF DAY \$107 \$41
 • Sunrise Walk
 • Base Walk
 • Kanyo Gorge
 Rise early this morning to travel to the sunrise viewing area at the eastern end of Uluru. Watch the first rays of dawn on Uluru and the Red Centre alight whilst enjoying a morning cup of tea or coffee and biscuits. After sunrise, travel by coach to Kanyo Gorge, an Aboriginal sacred site at the base of Uluru. Your Guide will meet you on a 1 hour walk to the Kanyo Gorge, pointing out the natural features of the landscape. Aboriginal rock paintings and traditional Aboriginal stories relating to the special place. Experience the great view of Uluru as your Guide explains the geological formation, Aboriginal history and the flora and fauna unique to the area. On arrival at Kanyo Gorge you will take in the tranquility of your surroundings. This journey is suitable for all ages. An important water source for Anangu this traditional Aboriginal spring. At certain times of the year you may see bush birds, a native bush food for the Anangu. Travel by coach around the base of Uluru before reaching Kanyo Gorge, where other walking trails can be seen. There is also the opportunity to view and purchase locally made Aboriginal souvenirs. Return to Uluru via Kata Tjuta, where you will be accompanied with an Uluru Base Walks Certificate and an Aboriginal information pack about Uluru.
 Depart: Daily 08:00am prior to sunrise from Uluru Base
 Duration: 12.00hrs approx. to Uluru Base
 Price: \$107 \$41
 Concession Return: \$107 \$41
 Note: National Park entry fee not included. See page 3 for details. Open on a maximum of 12 places.

Uluru Sunrise, Climb and Base Tour
 HALF DAY \$107 \$18
 • Sunrise at Uluru (Uluru Climb)
 • Kanyo Gorge
 • Uluru - Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre
 Rise early this morning to travel to the Uluru sunrise viewing area. Watch the first rays of dawn on the Red Centre alight whilst enjoying a morning cup of tea or coffee and biscuits. After the sun has risen you will be transferred to the base of the Uluru Climb. For those with a good level of fitness there is the opportunity to climb Uluru and be rewarded with spectacular panoramic views. It is not an easy climb and it is important to wear good walking shoes and take plenty of water. Alternatively, non-climbers can choose to take a wonderful stroll along the Kanyo Gorge. The Kanyo Gorge is a beautiful natural feature at the base of Uluru. It leads to the magnificent Kanyo Gorge. A 90 minute steep climb involves an amazing sight when there is through rain to create a waterfall. After the climb, join your AAT Kings Guide for a tour around the base of Uluru. Travel by coach to the Kanyo Gorge where you will be escorted into the beautiful Kanyo Gorge. Your Aboriginal rock paintings and learn about the area as your Aboriginal Guide points out some native flora and explain the Aboriginal and European history of Uluru. Stand around the base of Uluru in the comfort of the coach as your Aboriginal Guide provides commentary about the famous sacred sites and features to be found at Uluru. Visit the Uluru - Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, where you can learn about Aboriginal culture and see Aboriginal arts and crafts, before returning to Uluru Base.
 Depart: Daily 08:00am prior to sunrise from Uluru Base
 Duration: 12.00hrs approx. to Uluru Base
 Price: \$107 \$18
 Concession Return: \$107 \$18
 Note: National Park entry fee not included. See page 3 for details. Open on a maximum of 12 places.

Uluru Sunrise and Kata Tjuta Valley of the Winds Walk
 HALF DAY \$96 \$55
 • Sunrise at Uluru (Uluru Climb)
 • Valley of the Winds Walk
 An early morning start to experience the first rays of sunlight on Uluru and the Red Centre alight whilst enjoying a morning cup of tea or coffee and biscuits. Whilst the early morning light is you travel to Kata Tjuta and your Aboriginal Guide explains the geological history of the great domes. At Kata Tjuta your Aboriginal Guide will escort you on a 2.5 hour walk between the valleys of conglomerate rock. The walking path is rocky and requires a good level of fitness. In the mid morning or around at the canyon fins and buttes that has formed in the north environment. Once at the Valley of the Winds lookout, take some time to gaze out over the central valley of Kata Tjuta.
 Depart: Daily 08:00am prior to sunrise from Uluru Base
 Duration: 12.00hrs approx. (08:00 - 08:15) to Uluru Base
 Price: \$96 \$55
 Concession Return: \$96 \$55
 Note: National Park entry fee not included. See page 3 for details.

Uluru and Kata Tjuta Cultural Experience
 HALF DAY \$119 \$54/\$66
 • Day Walk
 • Aboriginal Culture
 • Kanyo Gorge Walk
 • Sunrise at Uluru
 This tour includes a morning Uluru Cultural Tour (3.5hr) combined with our Aboriginal Kata Tjuta and Uluru Sunset Tour (2.5hr) on page 19. This cultural experience begins with sunrise at Uluru followed by breakfast at the Cultural Centre. Learn from your Aboriginal guides for the 1.5 hour walk to the base of the Cultural Centre in the heart of Uluru. Remove the path of the Line Anangu through traditional orange to Uluru. Learn about ancient bush skills such as making hot bush (tea) and learning ancient laws. Your traditional stories relating to this special place. After the morning tour you will be returned to your hotel for breakfast at Uluru Base. This afternoon visit the massive series of domes known as Kata Tjuta. The walking trail through Kanyo Gorge follows the natural creek between two domes of Kata Tjuta. In the late afternoon see some of the Uluru sunset viewing sites to witness and photograph the setting sun which changes the landscape on Uluru while enjoying nibbles and a glass of wine.
 Note: Clients who do not wish to participate with the afternoon tour may purchase the morning Uluru Cultural Tour and guided walk separately (Code 124). This tour is operated in conjunction with Anangu Tours.
 Price: \$119 \$54/\$66
 Concession Return: \$119 \$54/\$66
 Note: National Park entry fee not included. See page 3 for details.

Morning Kata Tjuta Valley of the Winds Walk
 HALF DAY \$54 \$50
 • Valley of the Winds Walk
 As you travel to Kata Tjuta witness the magic of the morning light shining across the ancient landscape with your Aboriginal Guide explains the geological history of the surrounding area. Your Aboriginal Guide will escort you on a 2.5 hour walk in the Valley of the Winds. The walking path is rocky and requires a good level of fitness. Start at the canyon fins and buttes and witness the view of the central valley of the domes of Kata Tjuta.
 Depart: Daily 08:00am prior to sunrise from Uluru Base
 Duration: 12.00hrs approx. (08:00 - 08:15) to Uluru Base
 Price: \$54 \$50
 Concession Return: \$54 \$50
 Note: National Park entry fee not included. See page 3 for details.

If you are considering multiple tours, why not book a Touring Pass? Please refer to page 3.

PHONE BOOKINGS (08) 8250 2177 OR SEE YOUR TOUR DESK

Figure 101 AATKings. “Uluru Sightseeing Tours.” 2006-7. pp.3-4.

³⁹ Strategies for revising bus tours content and narratives began with a co-ordinated tour managers workshop in 1986, followed by the provision of an extensive guidebook in 1992 introducing Anangu law, culture, joint management and environment.

⁴⁰ AATKings. “Uluru Sightseeing Tours.” 2006-7. p.5.

Smaller tours have also emerged as an alternative to the mass coach experience, many of which highlight an experience of a cultural landscape. Discovery Ecotours Australia promotes ‘NO COACHES!!’, and offers ‘small group’ tours that emphasize the cultural and natural history of a ‘Living Cultural Landscape.’⁴¹ Anangu tours, which I discuss in detail in a later section, allow the traditional owners not only to present their own stories and culture, but also to gain economically from tourism.

For many tourists, the first encounter of the national park begins at 5am when they rise to travel to viewing spots to watch the sunrise. Since the opening of Yulara-Voyages Ayers Rock Resort, this ritual has lengthened, now requiring tourists to rise earlier and travel in convoy through the park’s entrance, before rushing to a designated viewing area in hope of a parking spot. Stopping informally along the road edge is prohibited, and tourists are only allowed to view the sunrise from designated viewing areas indicated on the park map shown in Figure 102.

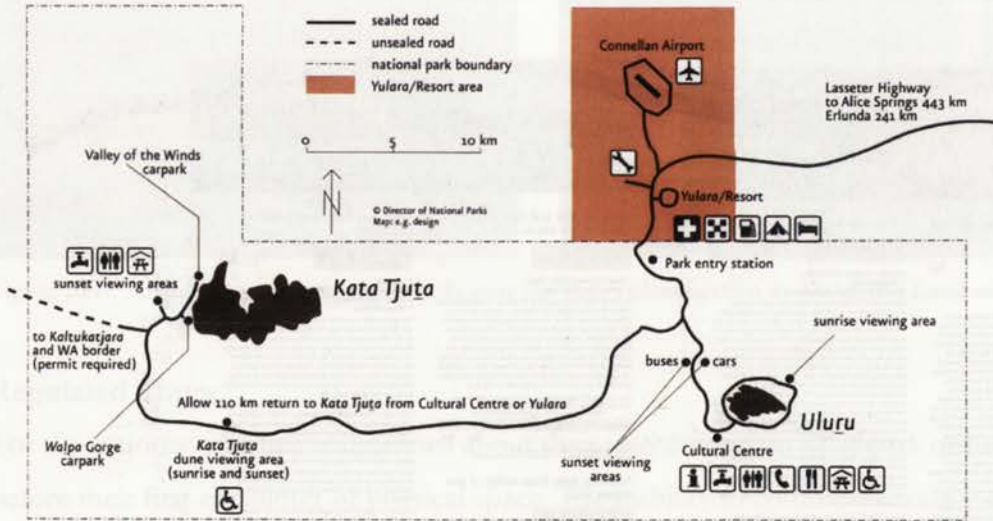


Figure 102 Map of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Maps Voyages Ayers Rock Resort)

Uluru is particularly chaotic at this time. Cars and coaches crowd the road as tourists encroach into the fragile landscape hoping for a good view and picture of the rock, as depicted in Figure 103 and Figure 104. Sunrise viewing of Kata Tjuta is less crowded, attributable to the separation of the viewing platform from the car park, as well as the longer (40 kilometre) drive from Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort. Sunrise can also be

⁴¹ Discovery Ecotours, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park-Living Cultural Landscape," (2006-2007).

experienced from lookouts within the resort, although naturally Uluru and Kata Tjuta appear much smaller.



Figure 103 Sunrise viewing area at Uluru-Kata Tjuta [ap]



Figure 104 Tourists viewing sun rise on the road verge [ap]

Following sunrise viewing, many tourists head to the base of Uluru, planning to finish the two-hour climb before the midday heat. Others aim to complete the 9.4 km walk around the base or the Valley of Winds walk at Kata Tjuta, while some elect to visit the cultural centre. This variety of interactions demonstrates the difficulties of assuming a visit to the cultural centre as the first stop for tourists, a goal of the management plan.

Educating the Visitor

Education and information were the principal means for influencing the tourist encounter of a post-hand back Uluru. An Aboriginal cultural centre was central to these agendas.

Management plans presumed that visitors would want to visit the cultural centre, and that their visit to the cultural centre would be a precursor to the experience of the park. Analysis of the relationship between the centre and the road circulation of the park, combined with the temporal tourist script determined by the extreme climatic conditions of the desert, reveals the flaw in this presumption. While a trip to the cultural centre features on most tours, it rarely occurs at the beginning. Instead, tourists including bus tourists visit during the hot midday hours, or later in the day as tourists wait for sunset viewing.

The centrality of the cultural centre to the tourist experience of the park is further reduced by the lack of infrastructure developed to reinforce the prominence of the building. As shown in Figure 105 the centre is set back from the road and over a kilometre from the base of Uluru. As I will explore in detail in Chapter Eight, this position evolved in response to complex negotiations between the traditional owners and designers, and was premised on a change in the road alignment to reinforce the importance of the centre. Ten years after the centre's completion, this recommendation has still not been implemented. Consequently, while the cultural centre reflects a strategic new insertion in the experience of the park, the agency of the centre in reshaping the visitor's expectation and interaction with the park is compromised by the infrastructural script of roads, viewing points and visitor nodes which remain largely unchanged.



Figure 105 View of the cultural centre from the major access road [ap]

This conflict between pre- and post-hand back values is even more pronounced at the base of the climb. Here, in a continuation of historic patterns based on convenience and function, the ring road and car park remain sited extremely close to the base of the climb,

almost merging with the rock. This configuration, shown in Figures 106 -108, does little to convey the site's sacredness. Signs located at the base of the climb form the primary medium for communicating the site's significance, as well as the Anangu's desire that tourists not climb. Translated into German, French, Spanish, English and Japanese, this signage warns of both the physical dangers and the cultural insensitivity of climbing, and suggests alternative tourist activities such as completing the base walk and visiting the cultural centre. Research conducted in 2003-04 verifies the ambiguity of the messages embedded in the physical and textual scripts of the climbing node.⁴² While almost all tourists surveyed (96%) were aware that Anangu would prefer people didn't climb,⁴³ tourists pointed to a contradictory message communicated by the 'we don't climb' signage, juxtaposed against the background view of people climbing the rock. Comparison with other sacred sites around the base of the rock and with Kata Tjuta, which prevent access, also contributed to tourists' confusion over the status of the climb.⁴⁴



Figure 106 Car park at the climb site [ap]

While the 'politics' of the climb may have shifted following hand back, the spatial design of the climbing node has altered little over the past thirty years. The significance of this mismatch between the cues embedded in the spatial configuration of the climb and the broader park infrastructure is often overlooked in scholarly analysis. Sarah James' 2007 study on visitor decision-making adopts a post-structural discourse analysis on the various ways that Uluru is constructed within the media and tourist industry, and includes surveys

⁴² This study coordinated by Richard Baker and funded by AITIS interviewed approximately 1500 tourists in 2003-4 on their attitudes to climbing Uluru.

⁴³ According to Baker's study almost half of tourist receive this message from word of mouth, 25% from travel literature, 13% from the Cultural Centre, 7% from guides.

⁴⁴ Despite the mixed messages inherent in the physical script of the park, a decreasing trend in climbing the rock is apparent, dropping from approximately 70% of all visitors in 1992 to 45% in 2000.

of tourists and tour operators that examine behaviour towards the climb.⁴⁵ While this study demonstrates the influence of representations from outside the park in determining attitudes to the rock, James excludes the infrastructure within the park, instead stating that this analysis occurs elsewhere. However, to understand fully the tourist relationship to the climb, it is essential that the integral relationship between both physical and representational space of the park is considered. It is equally critical to understand the positioning of the climb in the broader infrastructural sequence and temporal tourist script of the national park.



Figure 107 Toilet block at the base of the climb, replaced in 2006 [ap]



Figure 108 Signage at the base of the climb [ap]

⁴⁵ James, "Constructing the Climb: Visitor Decision-Making at Uluru."

Infrastructural Alternatives

Despite minimal evidence of broader infrastructural change within the park, alternative proposals have been developed. The 2000 infrastructure plan presents a concept which realigns the physical infrastructure of the park with post-hand back values.⁴⁶ Controversially the plan, shown in Figure 109 proposes the removal of the ring road around Uluru. This road is replaced by two new roads; one linking the cultural centre to a visitor node positioned several hundred meters back from the base of the climb, and a second connecting to a relocated sunrise viewing point. The aim of this strategy is threefold; first to address the ecological damage of the ring road; secondly to emphasis the cultural centre, and thirdly to de-emphasise the climb and to encourage tourists to walk in the landscape. Eight years after the release of the plan, only one recommendation has been funded. In 2006 \$5.45 million was allocated to re-siting of Uluru's sunrise viewing area, which includes new road access, separate car and bus parking, and a viewing platform that allows visitors to see the sunrise over both Uluru and Kata-Tjuta.⁴⁷

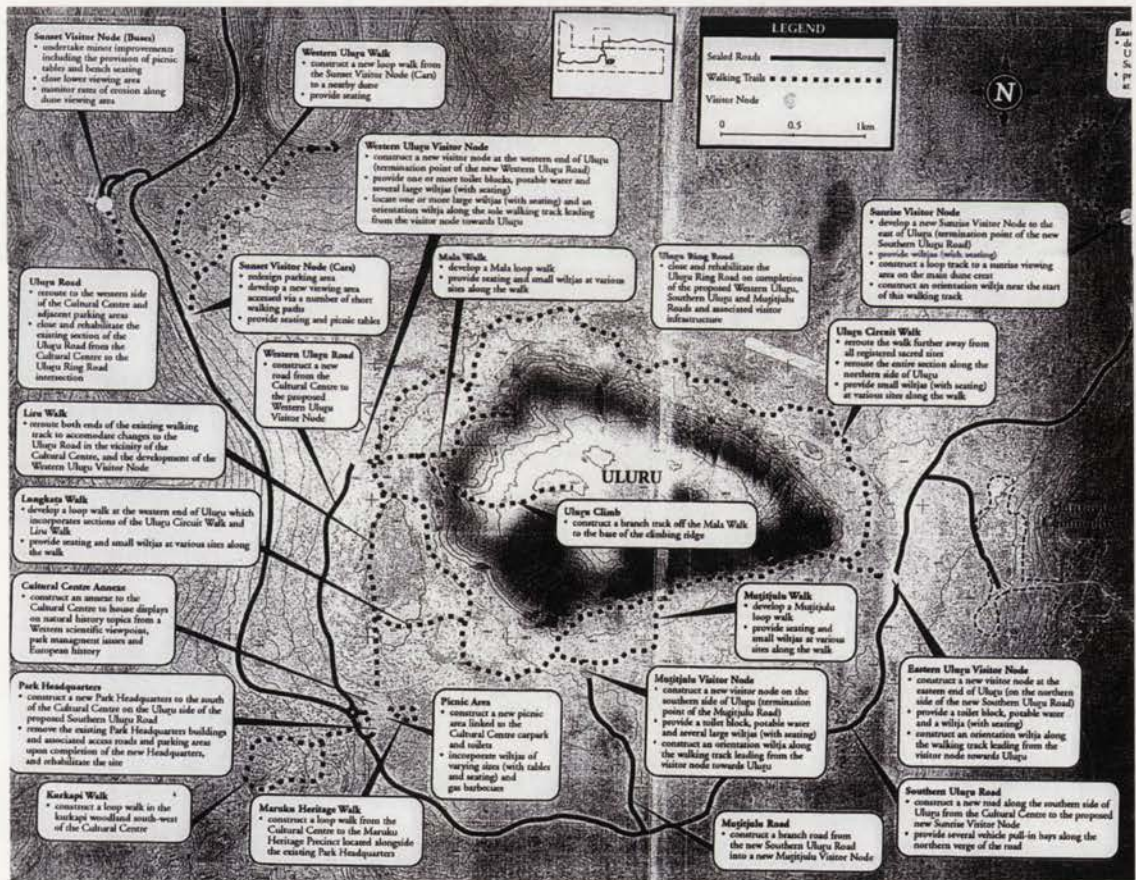


Figure 109 Development Proposals for the Uluru and Cultural Centre Precincts (Parks Australia, Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Infrastructure Master Plan, 2000 p.57.)

⁴⁶ Parks Australia, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Infrastructure Master Plan (Draft)," (Canberra: Parks Australia, 2000).

⁴⁷ MP Greg Hunt, "\$5.45 Million for New Uluru Sunrise Viewing Area," in *Joint Media release Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for the Environment & Heritage* (2006).

Accounting for this reluctance to re-align the physical infrastructure of the park with post-hand back park values is difficult. Three issues emerge. First, minimal funding is allocated to park management. The 2007 budget for the park was just \$15 million a year, despite contributing over \$400 million in tourism revenue to the Australian economy each year.⁴⁸ Secondly, the removal of the ring road, an act recommended since the early government reports of the 1970s, remains contentious with tour companies, given that tourists would be required to spend far more time within the landscape than currently, and this would have financial consequences for coach tours.⁴⁹ Finally, the ‘design’ of tourist spaces within the park remains a low priority. Convenience and function rather than quality of tourist experience continue to dominate the design of tourist infrastructure.

This attitude is best reflected in the design for sunset viewing of Uluru, one of the major points of tourist interaction, shown in Figure 110. This node, which occupies the same viewing point as Spencer’s first photo, is nothing more than a standard ‘urban’ car park. No effort has been made to introduce an alternative design vocabulary that might connect the visitor to this particular place through the use, for example, of surfacing other than asphalt, delineation of parking spaces without the use of paint, and wheel-stops made of something other than concrete. The persistence of this functional attitude is particularly apparent when considered against the extensive investment in the design of the visitor experience for the National Museums.



Figure 110 The ‘functional’ car park of the sunset viewing area for independent tourists[ap]

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Terry English, September 2004.

Recent proposals for park infrastructure continue to emphasise the 'rewriting' of the space through textual overlays rather than a more substantial commitment to the reconfiguration of the physical infrastructure. A 2005 press release 'Visitor infrastructure gets a lift at Uluru' outlines a proposal to spend almost \$500,000 on further signage.⁵⁰ The quality of the visitor experience of the park however remains a low priority, an aspect explored further in the second part of the chapter.

Being in the Landscape

The second part of this chapter shifts from an examination of the broad-scale infrastructure of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks to a closer exploration of the visitor's experience of 'being in' the landscape: the prized 'backcountry' tramps of Tongariro, and the day walks around Uluru and Kata Tjuta. These walks are analysed from the perspective of the type of information provided to guide the visitor's experience including in-situ information, brochures, and guided tours; and from the perspective of the degree of mediation provided between the walker and the landscape, including the marking and grade of tracks, the provision of facilities, and strategies for crowd management.

Consideration of research that examines tourist motivations and experiences in Australian and New Zealand national parks informs this analysis. Emerging in the 1990s, this body of research reflects government motives to capitalise on international and domestic tourism within the conservation estate. The New Zealand studies focus extensively on 'green tourism,' documenting tourist expectations and experiences of an 'unmodified natural environment.'⁵¹ These studies are paralleled by Australian research that examines the success of Aboriginal tourist ventures within national parks.⁵²

⁵⁰ MP Greg Hunt, "Visitor Infrastructure Gets a Lift at Uluru," in *Joint Media release Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for the Environment & Heritage* (Canberra: 2005).

⁵¹ See James E. S. Higham, "Wilderness Perceptions of International Visitors to New Zealand: The Perceptual Approach to the Management of International Tourists Visiting Wilderness Areas within New Zealand's Conservation Estate" (Doctor of Philosophy, University of Otago, 1996). John Shultis, "Social and Ecological Manifestations in the Development of the Wilderness Area Concept in New Zealand," in *The State of Wilderness in New Zealand*, ed. Gordon Cessford (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001). Gordon Cessford and Paul Dingwall, "Wilderness and Recreation in New Zealand," in *The State of Wilderness in New Zealand*, ed. Gordon Cessford (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001), Leslie F. Molloy, "Wilderness in New Zealand," in *The State of Wilderness in New Zealand*, ed. Gordon Cessford (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001), John Shultis, "The Duality of Wilderness: Comparing Popular and Political Conceptions of Wilderness in New Zealand," *Society and Natural Resources* 12 (1999).

⁵² See Jon Altman, "Aborigines, Tourism, and Development: The Northern Territory Experience," (Darwin: North Australia Research Unit, 1988), Jon Altman and Julie Finlayson, "Aborigines, Tourism and Sustainable Development," *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 14, no. 1 (2003), Mohsin Asad and Chris Ryan, "Backpackers in the Northern Territory of Australia-Motives, Behaviours and Satisfactions," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5 (2003), Jonathon Howard, Rik Thwaites, and Brenda Smith, "Investigating the Roles of the Indigenous Tour Guide," *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 12, no. 2 (2001), Chris Ryan and Jeremy Huyton, "Tourists and Aboriginal People," *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 3 (2002).

This comparative analysis highlights contrasting constructions of the tourist experience. A visit to Tongariro remains focused upon recreational activities, offering a largely un-narrated experience. Tourists are rarely required to consider their interactions in relationship to Maori cultural values. An experience of an unmodified environment remains championed and protected by management strategies. Tourists are offered minimal 'cultural' narration of the park despite its recognition as a World Heritage-listed 'cultural' landscape, a framing that I argue mirrors the environmental representations evident at Te Papa, which assert environmental purity over modification. In contrast, Uluru-Kata Tjuta highlights a 'cultural' experience of landscape, yet one that occurs with minimal contact between tourists and Anangu. I argue that this outcome illustrates a further shortcoming of hand back, namely that the proposed formalisation of relationships between Anangu, tourism and the national park, conceived to elevate the cultural authority and economic positioning of the traditional owners, did not prove beneficial.

A Pristine Nature

Consistent with historic patterns, the tourist experience of Tongariro commences at the point where the infrastructure stops and a physical engagement with the landscape begins. Tongariro remains a recreational wonderland that supports four major experiences: the winter recreational activities of the ski fields; active adventure pursuits such as mountain bike riding and alpine climbing; back country tramping; and short scenic walks. Analysis of the walks and longer tramps demonstrates a continued focus on a scenic or wilderness experience. In contrast to the tourist experience of Uluru, narration of the tourist experience remains optional. The management plan reveals Maori reluctance to be involved in interpretation, particularly in commercial guiding, which they consider insensitive to the tikanga of tangata whenua.⁵³ Consequently, the park continues to advocate an experience of unmodified nature, an incongruous construction given its international acclaim as the first World Heritage-listed cultural landscape.

Unlike visitors to Uluru, visitors to Tongariro are given no information about the park at the point of entry. Visitor centres in Whakapapa village or the surrounding towns of Ohakune and Turangi sell brochures, guide books and maps describing major walks and tramps. Brochures, examples of which are shown in Figure 111, assign walks a 'grade' based on shoe type, a recognised international scale that points to the embodied

⁵³ Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro," (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2006). p.170.

relationship between the people and environment. New Zealand's Department of Conservation's walk classification distinguishes between short walks (walking shoes); walking track (sturdy shoes or walking boots); great walk/easier tramping track (tramping boots) and the final two categories of tramping track and route (sturdy tramping boots).⁵⁴ Tongariro's least demanding 'walks' are constructed to 'shoe' standard and can be completed in less than three hours. These walks are premised on an instant immersion in the landscape, offering a scenic engagement with landscape through picnicking, photography and walking. At 15 minutes, the Whakapapa Nature Walk is the shortest in the park, as well as one of the few to include in-situ interpretation. A sealed loop track suitable for wheelchairs weaves through the bush, punctuated by interpretive plaques that outline the major vegetation zones found within the park, two of which are shown in Figure 112.

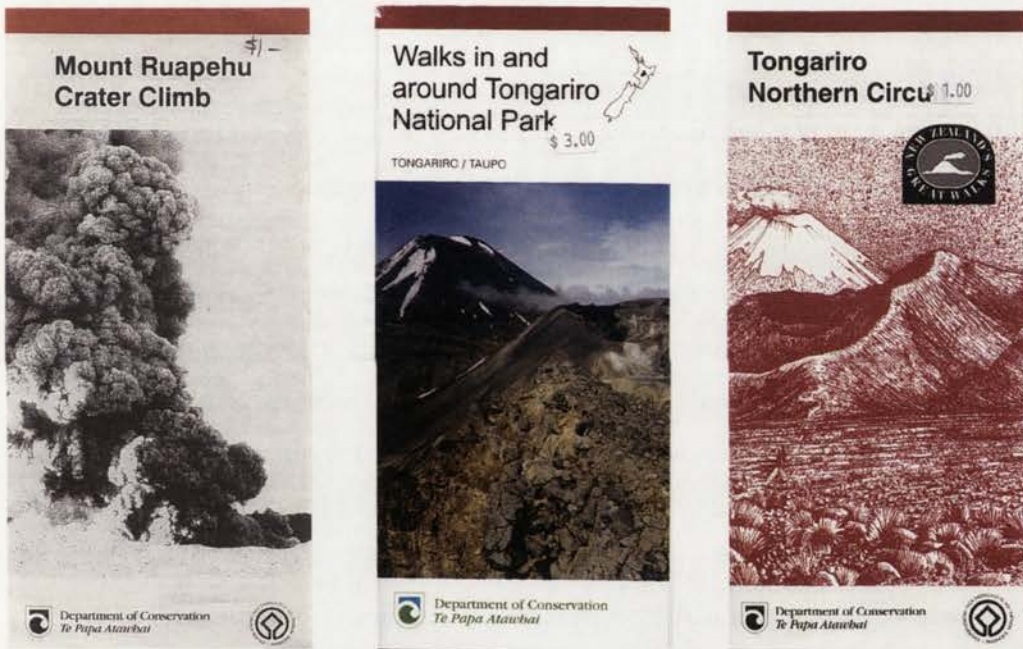


Figure 111 Brochures of major walks within Tongariro National Park



Figure 112 Interpretation signage along the Whakapapa Nature walk [ap]

⁵⁴ Department of Conservation, "Walks in and around Tongariro National Park," (Wellington: Department of Conservation Tongariro Taupo Conservancy, 2005). p.9.

A Backcountry Experience

The more demanding tramps focus on the unpredictable and rugged terrain of the volcanic slopes and peaks. The four- to six-day Round the Mountain tramp and the three- to four-day Tongariro Northern Circuit are the most challenging, both of which form part of the highly-prized Great Walks series in New Zealand national parks.⁵⁵ While not conforming to Leopold's earlier prescribed 'minimum size,' these walks are promoted as wilderness experiences, described as 'ideal for those seeking solitude, magnificent mountain views and a backcountry experience.'⁵⁶ These definitions of wilderness depart from minimal land areas to instead consider perceptions of wilderness. While studies demonstrate that wilderness perceptions differ between individuals and cultures, New Zealand research identifies four key attributes to maintaining a 'wilderness recreational' experience: an unaltered natural setting, minimal facilities and services, unobtrusive regulation and minimal visitors.⁵⁷

Consequently the Round the Mountain tramp indicated on the map shown in Figure 113 promises a wilderness experience, despite its close proximity to the ski-fields and major highways. The minimal huts and track markings, the relative isolation of the eastern slopes of the mountains combined with the rapidly changing climatic conditions, replicate the qualities of freedom, solitude, romance and challenge integral to a wilderness experience. John Schultis argues that contemporary trampers consider the experience as much spiritual as recreational, perceiving themselves as less materialistic and of a more adventurous nature than the broader community, as well as displaying a greater respect for the environment.⁵⁸

The wilderness experience is not available to all, not only requiring a suitable level of physical fitness but also the skills for recognising and navigating wilderness. This is not limited to New Zealanders. Tourist studies indicate that those seeking a 'backcountry' experience represent an equal proportion of New Zealanders and international visitors.

⁵⁵ The nine great walks include the Tongariro Northern Crossing, Abel Tasman Coast Track, Whanganui Journey, Lake Waikaremoana, Heaphy Treak, Kepler Track, Routeburn, Milford and Rakiura.

⁵⁶ Department of Conservation, "Walks in and around Tongariro National Park." p. 25.

⁵⁷ Cessford and Dingwall, "Wilderness and Recreation in New Zealand." p.41.

⁵⁸ John Schultis, "Natural Environments, Wilderness and Protected Areas: An Analysis of Historical Western Attitudes and Utilisation and Their Expression in Contemporary New Zealand" (Doctor of Philosophy, University of Otago, 1991). pp.356-7.

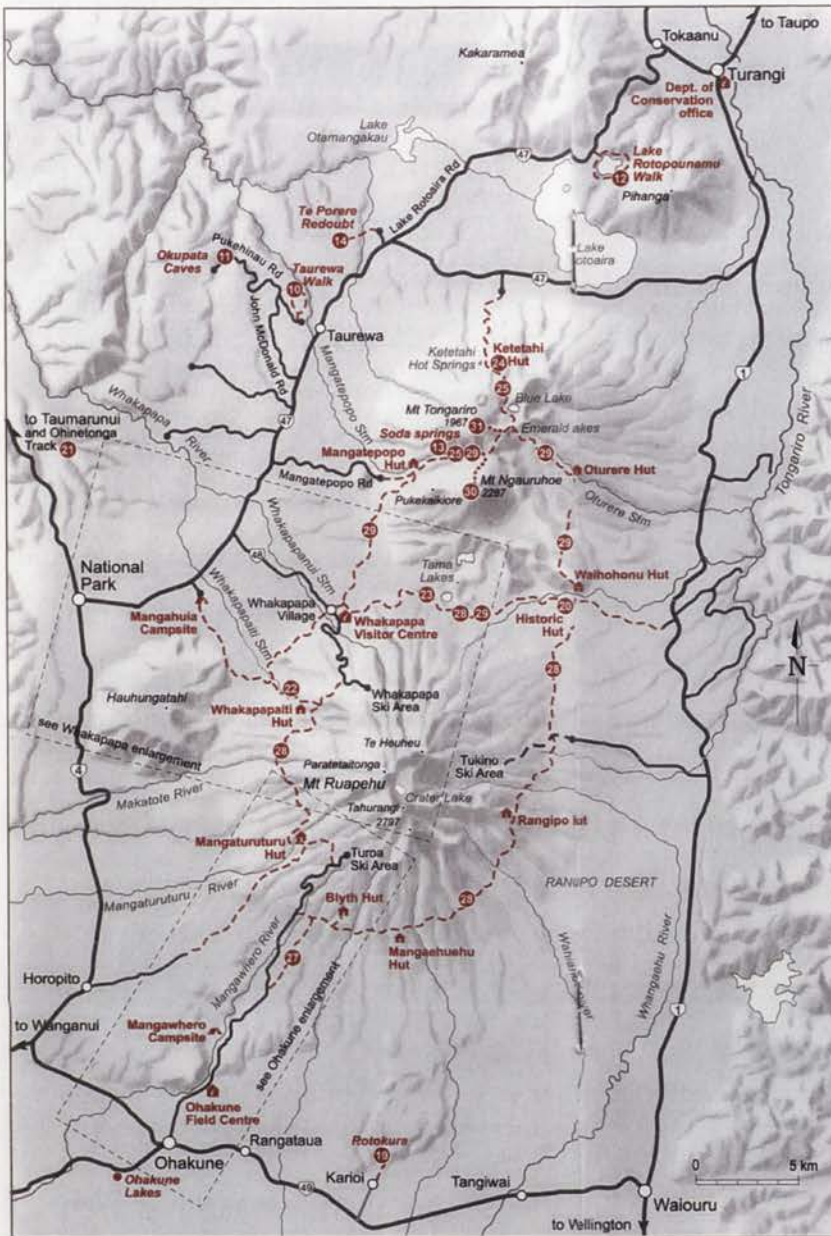


Figure 113 Major walks in Tongariro National Park (Walks in and around Tongariro National Park, p.21)

The wilderness and backcountry areas of New Zealand national parks experienced a rapid increase in international visitors between 1985 and 1996, numbers doubling from 0.67 million to 1.41 million.⁵⁹ This increase can be traced directly to the aggressive global marketing of New Zealand as ‘clean and green,’ which created pressure on park management to further protect the recreational wilderness experience.⁶⁰ Management strategies aim to maintain the quality of the experience by restricting tourist numbers. Strategies such as staggering departure times for walkers and the use of permits and booking systems protect the backcountry experience for all visitors at minimal fees and hut

⁵⁹ Molloy, "Wilderness in New Zealand." p.14.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.14.

charges.⁶¹ This differs significantly from the tourist experience of post-hand back Uluru, where a more intimate landscape experience is only available for a considerable additional cost.

The Tongariro Crossing, a section of The Northern Circuit completed in one day, attracts large numbers. In peak summer periods, more than 1000 people a day complete the walk, two-thirds of whom are overseas visitors.⁶² Marketed extensively as 'the greatest one day walk in the world', the 17km walk takes between six to eight hours to complete. The Crossing traverses volcanic terrain providing spectacular views of Mt Ngauruhoe as shown in Figure 115, while offering tourists a taste of a 'backcountry' experience without an overnight stay. Three levels of guidance are provided for the walk: minimal site signage and marking of the track, the brochure Tongariro Crossing that can be purchased for \$1, and more extensive guidebooks produced by The Tongariro Natural History Society.⁶³ Closer investigation of this material reveals minimal discussion of Maori cultural relationship to the landscape. The pamphlet Tongariro Crossing alludes to the sacredness of the mountains defining the Maori significance of the mountains as 'matua' (parent of the land) and the focus of their mana (pride).⁶⁴ Indication of what might be appropriate tourist behaviour is absent, with tourists offered the vague statement '[T]he mountains of Tongariro National park are sacred to Maori – tread carefully with respect.'⁶⁵

A stronger expression of Maori cultural values occurs in the descriptions of the Emerald and Blue Lakes, also encountered along the crossing and shown in Figure 116. The pamphlet includes an explanation of the Maori names of Ngarotopounamu and Te Wai-whakaata-o-te Rangihiroa, while also advising that the Blue Lake is tapu, warning people not to swim or eat food around the lake.⁶⁶ Minimal information on the significance of the landscape is provided, as demonstrated by the in-situ signage that encourages the climbing of Mt Ngauruhoe. As Figure 117 shows, this signage provides tourists with no information on the cultural value of the volcanic peaks.

⁶¹ Paula Oliver, "Walking Track Access Could Be Cut," *New Zealand Herald*, Friday 8th November 2002.

⁶² Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro." p.156.

⁶³ The Tongariro Natural History Society was established in 1984 as a non-profit organization. The Society works in association with the Department of Conservation in developing interpretative activities and other visitor related services for the National Park.

⁶⁴ Department of Conservation, "Tongariro Crossing," (Wellington: 2004).

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.



Figure 114 Minimal marking of the track by snow poles [ap]



Figure 115 Views back to Mt Ngauruhoe [ap]



Figure 116 Emerald lake (Ngarotopunamu) with the tapu Blue Lake (Te Wai-hakaata-o-te Rangihiroa) in the distance [ap]



Figure 117 Signage along Tongariro Crossing indicating the summit track [ap]

The guidebook *The Tongariro Crossing* provides a lengthier account of the history of the park, along with information on the geology and ecology encountered along the walk. Descriptions of Maori cultural relationships to landscape remain minimal, particularly when contextualised against the extensive descriptions of Maori culture offered by James Cowan's 1927 guidebook. This absence of interpretation extends to the pamphlet describing the climb to Mt Ruapehu's Crater Lake, which takes visitors into the most sacred 'pristine areas.'⁶⁷ The pamphlet contains no indication of the peak's sacredness, offering only general acknowledgement of Tongariro's status as a dual World Heritage Area 'in recognition of the park's special natural and cultural values.'⁶⁸ The pamphlet warns only of the summit's volcanic danger, recommending avoidance 'if there are any signs of volcanic activity.'⁶⁹

Environmental Purity

While tourists are not required to curtail their activities out of respect for Maori values, an 'environmental code' introduces a new moderator of interaction between the tourist and the landscape. This moral code, printed on all maps of the park, including the map of the Tongariro Crossing shown in Figure 118, describes a code of conduct for engaging with the landscape with minimal impact. Visitors are advised to protect plants and animals; to remove rubbish and bury toilet waste; to keep streams and lakes clean; to take care with fires and camp carefully; to keep to the track; to consider others, to 'respect our cultural

⁶⁷ The Crater Climb during the winter months requires the negotiation of icy slopes, avalanches, crevasses and ice cliffs.

The unmarked route requires visitors to not only be able to self navigate but also judge volcanic and alpine conditions.

⁶⁸ Department of Conservation, "Mount Ruapehu Crater Climb," (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2001).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

heritage; enjoy your visit' and finally, *Toitu te Whenua* (leave the land undisturbed). This code supports Shultis' observation that ideas of wilderness in New Zealand have shifted from its initial recreational category towards an even more 'purist' concept. Unlike other countries, argues Schultis, wilderness in New Zealand is 'more strictly geared toward preservation than recreation,' a position which tolerates but does not encourage recreation.⁷⁰

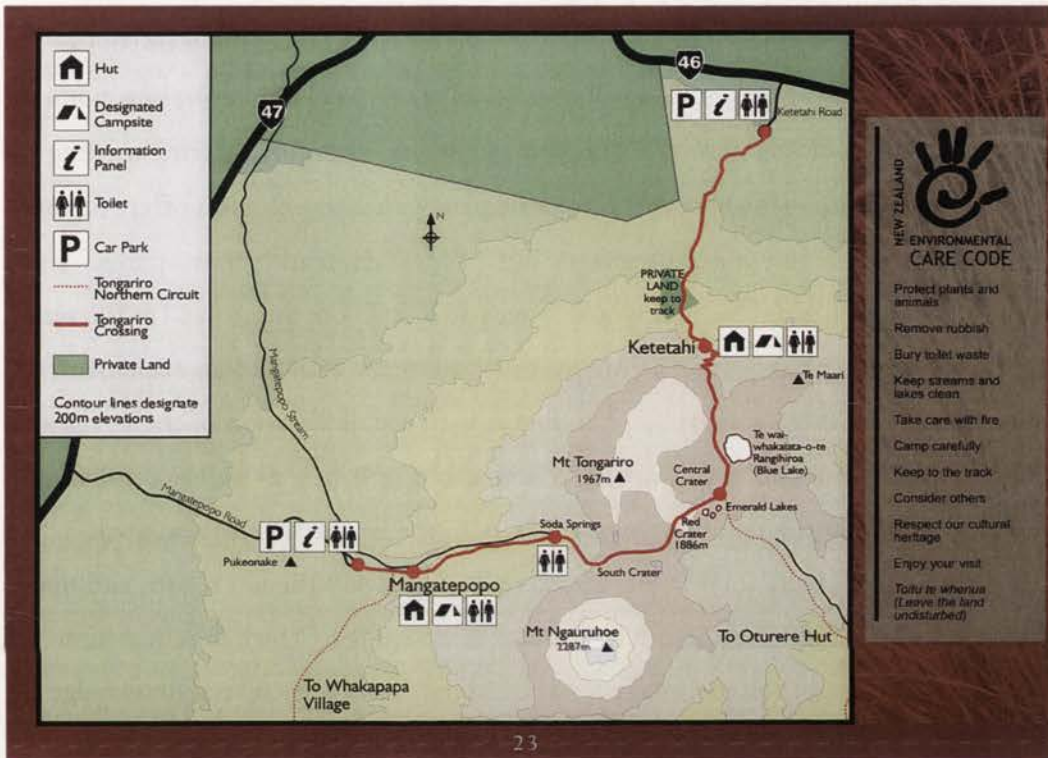


Figure 118 Map of the Tongariro Crossing showing the Environmental Care Code (The Tongariro Crossing, Tongariro Natural History Society, p.23.)

The evolution of the tourist experience of Tongariro National Park from Cowan's initial late-nineteenth century portrayal of a Maori cultural landscape into a twenty-first century emphasis on pristine nature supports Schultis' claim. Paradoxically, a projected tourist experience of an unmodified environment coincides with the national park's acclaim as the first World Heritage listed cultural landscape. This contradiction between pristine nature and cultural significance echoes the representation of environment within the exhibits of Te Papa, where a pristine unmodified nature is represented despite the scientific reality of extensive ecological modification. Tellingly, the park's Summer Program 2007-2008 include

⁷⁰ Shultis, "The Duality of Wilderness: Comparing Popular and Political Conceptions of Wilderness in New Zealand." p.394.

only one guided walk that discussed Maori cultural relationships, an extraordinary fact given the park's recognition as a World Heritage Cultural landscape.⁷¹

The most recent management plan offers some evidence for understanding this puzzling oversight. The plan provides clear evidence of Maori reluctance to be involved in the interpretation of Tongariro, and states that Maori oppose commercial guiding on the Tongariro Crossing, considering it insensitive to 'the cultural values and tikanga of tangata whenua' as well as the spirit of the original gift.⁷² Despite this reluctance, the plan advises that Ngati Tuwharetoa would be 'encouraged' to take 'an active role' in interpreting cultural World Heritage values associated with the Tongariro Crossing, including offering training to guiding concessionaires.⁷³ This reluctance to participate with interpretation offers further insight into the tension surrounding 'co-management' of New Zealand national parks. Review of the Waitangi Tribunal National Park Inquiry held in 2006, unresolved at the time of writing provides further verification of Maori disappointment with park management. Tuwharetoa Paramount Chief Tumu te Heuheu highlighted the desecration of the mountains through pollution, infrastructure and commercial activities, as well as disputing the Government claim that the mountains were 'gifted' to the nation by his great-great grandfather Horonuku te Heuheu IV.⁷⁴ He argued that the gift was the last resort, and that in 'gifting' the peaks his 'great-great-grandfather never intended the Crown would assume sole ownership and control of the mountains.'⁷⁵ The absence of Maori cultural knowledge within the tourist experience of the park suggests an uneasy relationship between Maori and the Crown.

Seeing Country

The hand back of Uluru to the traditional owners was premised on replacing historic relationships to the park with Anangu cultural values, combined with the creation of opportunities for Anangu to gain economically from Aboriginal cultural tourism. This repositioning was based on the assumption that Anangu would participate in the tourist industry, a claim that has subsequently proved problematic.

⁷¹ The Karioi Rahui Hikoi takes visitors to an ecological restoration project managed by the Department of Conservation and Ngati Rangi. This walk includes guides from the tangata whenua and DOC and discusses the flora, fauna and the traditions of the Ngati Rangi people.

⁷² Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy, "Tongariro National Park Management Plan Te Kaupapa Whakahaere Mo Te Papa Rehia O Tongariro."p.170.

⁷³ Ibid.pp. 171-172.

⁷⁴ "Tribe Wants Mountains, National Park Back," *New Zealand Herald*, Saturday October 21 2006.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Compared to the extensive walks and tramps available at Tongariro, the tourist experience of Uluru-Kata Tjuta offers minimal opportunities to walk within the desert landscape or experience any sense of solitude. Walking around the base of the rock, taking an Anangu tour, visiting the cultural centre, going on a free Ranger-guided Mala walk, completing the Valley of the Winds walk or just sitting and listening to the landscape are all suggested as ways for tourists to slow down and see country. Anangu understandings of Tjurkapa are central to many of these experiences.

Extensive interpretation is provided by self-guided tours informed by in-situ interpretation, pamphlets, and the park information pack or by guided tours such as Anangu tours. This Aboriginal-owned tour group presents the most direct translation of the ambitions of hand back: tourists learning about country directly from the traditional owners and conversely, the traditional owners gaining economically from tourism. Given the absence of Anangu from the tourist industry of Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort, combined with their minimal presence at the cultural centre (discussed in the next chapter), Anangu tours provides tourists the only guaranteed interaction with the traditional owners.

In-situ Information

The 9.4 km base walk around Uluru is promoted as an alternative to climbing the rock. Two interpretive walks that reference important Tjurkapa ancestors are ‘packaged’ on the western side of the rock, shown in Figure 119. The 2 km Mala walk introduces the hare-wallaby people in a trail that stretches from the base of the climb to Kantju Gorge, while the shorter Mutitjulu Walk highlights the two ancestral beings, Kuniya the python and Liru poisonous snake, near the Kapi Mutitjulu (Mutitjulu waterhole). Tourists are offered interpretations of the relationship between the landform of Uluru and these Tjurkapa ancestors by in-situ interpretive signs, the purchase of a self-guided tour brochure from the cultural centre, and either by free ranger tour, bus tours or Anangu tours. The in-situ sign shown in Figure 120 describes the battle between Kuniya and Liru and the resultant landform and rock markings.

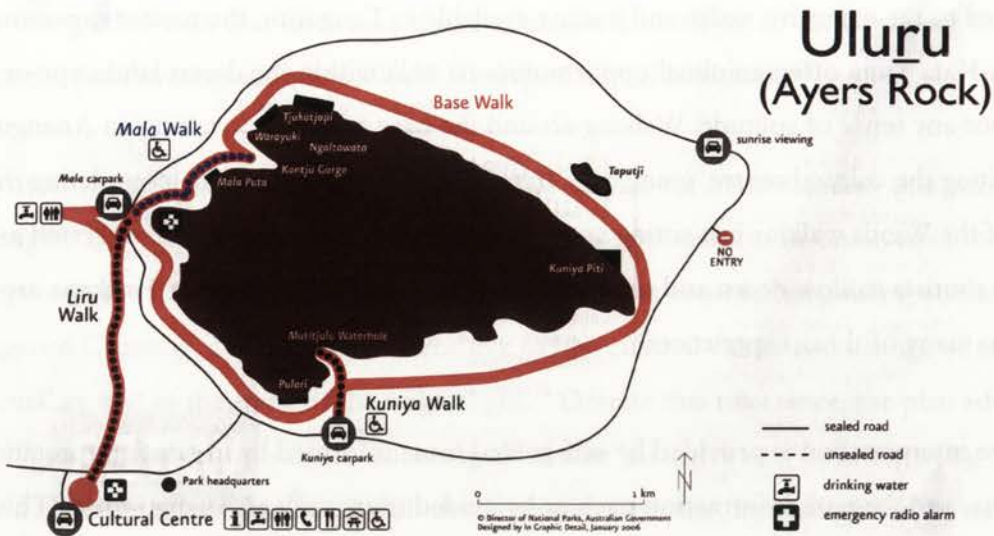


Figure 119 Map of Mala and Mutitjulu walks (Maps Voyagers Ayers Rock Resort)

These short, easily accessible walks attract mass crowds, concentrating tourists within small areas such as the Mutitjulu water hole. At times the tourist experience is more aligned with the museum than a national park, with visitors jostling to get a view of the waterholes and rock art. Paths and viewing platforms are robustly detailed to control crowds, often overwhelming the very landscape features that tourists are viewing. For example, the viewing platform for the Mutitjulu waterhole shown in Figure 121 projects over the top of the water hole.

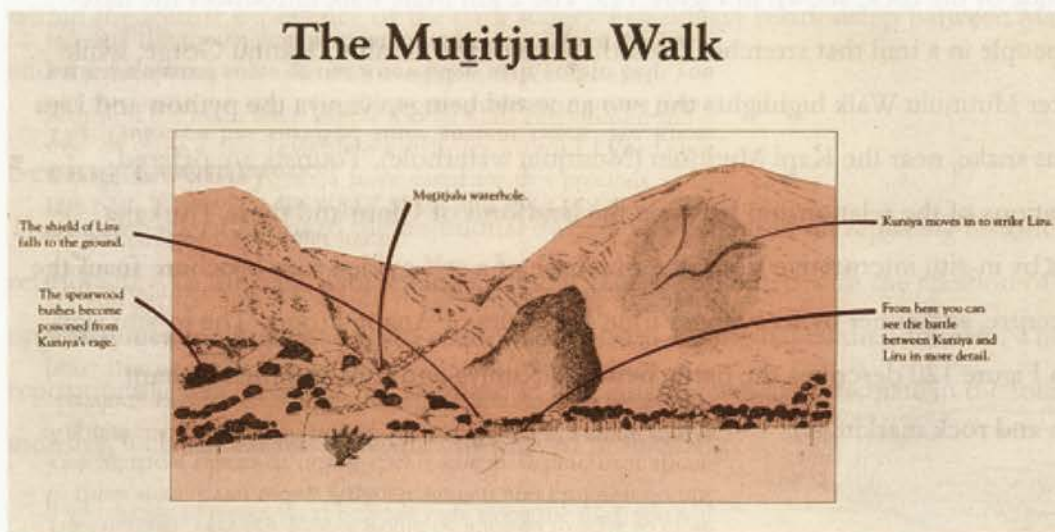


Figure 120 In-situ interpretive sign describing the battle of Kuniya and Liru [ap]



Figure 121 Viewing platform at the Mutitjulu waterhole [ap]

Unlike Tongariro, the tourist is rarely alone in the landscape, and the proximity of the ring road to the rock means that vehicle noise remains a constant. The 2000 Infrastructural Review concluded that ‘there is nowhere around the base of Uluru where visitors can appreciate the values of the place without the background sights and sounds of vehicles.’⁷⁶ The impact of the ring road and the crowds diminishes on the eastern side where the shift in road alignment away from the rock provides a more intimate landscape experience, while the need for more sustained physical engagement moderates tourist numbers and concentrations. The closure of the circuit and access roads at Kata Tjuta in 1991 in respect of the sacred nature of site provides further evidence of the value of limiting vehicle access to controls crowds.

As shown in Figure 122, tourists can now only experience the central landforms of Kata Tjuta by completing the 7.4 km (3 hour) Valley of the Winds walk which, while short in the context of Tongariro, offers the most challenging physical engagement outside of climbing Uluru. The time commitment combined with the strenuous landform means that many bus tours pass over the Valley of the Winds in favour of the 2 km gentle return walk into Walpa Gorge. No interpretive signage is located on either walk, reflecting the area’s cultural sensitivity.⁷⁷ Consequently, it is possible for tourists on the Valley of the Wind Walk to experience a rare solitude within the landscape as they circle monumental landforms, shown in Figure 123.

⁷⁶ Parks Australia, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Infrastructure Master Plan (Draft)."p.35.

⁷⁷ Ibid.p.29.

Kata Tjuta (The Olgas)



Figure 122 Map of Kata Tjuta indicating the Valley of the Winds and Walpa Gorge walks (Maps Voyages Ayers Rock Resort)



Figure 123 Valley of the Winds walk [ap]

The dominant experience of the park remains one of mass tourism. Increased tourist numbers, shorter visits, restricted viewing areas, minimal walking options and the temporal

constraints imposed by the desert combine to produce an increasingly overcrowded tourist experience. Unlike Tongariro, proposed management strategies aim to facilitate an increasing number of tourists rather than to maintain a quality of experience by restricting tourist numbers. Suggested strategies have included the introduction of more coach services and even a total ban on private vehicles in favour of a Park owned and operated transport system.⁷⁸ Closure of the ring road, which would certainly alleviate overcrowding, remains undiscussed.

Story telling within the Landscape

The increasingly regulated and controlled tourist encounter with the landscape of Uluru-Kata Tjuta often occurs without any direct engagement with the Anangu people. The exception is Anangu tours, an award winning Aboriginal-owned tour company formed in 1995 that employs Anangu to tell their own stories within the landscape. Anangu tours provides the most direct response to the post-hand back aspiration that tourists 'see' country. The tours are a rare example of traditional owners gaining economically from tourism through employment rather than through income from the park entrance fee or donations from the resort.

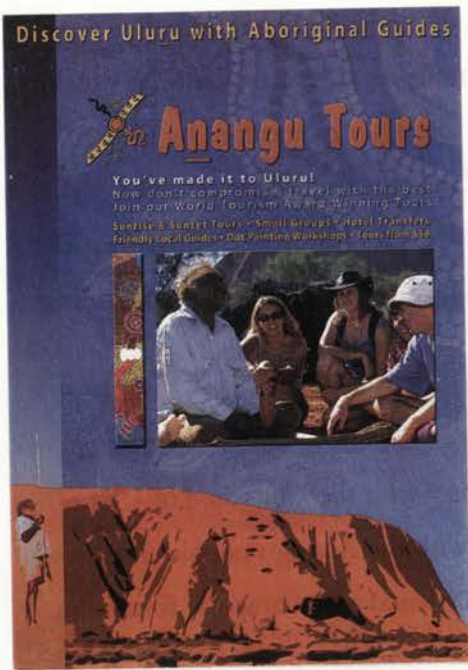
Run by Wana Ungkunyja, Anangu tours is the largest private-sector employer of Aboriginal people in the region and has won many national and international awards, and was inducted into the Australian Tourism Awards Hall of Fame in 2003 after winning three consecutive Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Tourism Awards for excellence.⁷⁹ In 2004 the company received a World Legacy Travel Award for Heritage Tourism.⁸⁰ While these awards point to the success of Anangu tours as a tourist venture, research into Aboriginal cultural tourism conducted throughout the 1990s questions the presumed positive connections between tourism and Aboriginal people.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Park Transportation Study cited Merz, Sinclair Knight. "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Uluru Sunrise Viewing Area Draft 3." Darwin, 2005. p.3.

⁷⁹ Wana Ungkunyja is owned by the Nyangatjatjara Aboriginal Corporation which includes the Aboriginal communities of Mutitjulu, Docker River and Imanpa.

⁸⁰ The World Legacy Travel Award is run as a partnership between Conservation International and National Geographic Traveler and recognises environmental and social leaders in tourism.

⁸¹ See Altman "The Economic Impact of Tourism on Mutitjulu Community, Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park, Working Paper No. 7." Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1987. Altman, "Aborigines, Tourism, and Development: The Northern Territory Experience." Darwin: North Australia Research Unit, 1988 Altman, "The Aboriginal Arts and Craft Industry: Report of the Review Committee." Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services, 1989.



MORNING TOURS

Aboriginal Uluru Tour
 This is one of the most famous tours of Uluru. On this small group tour you will enjoy sunrise, a restaurant breakfast overlooking Uluru and the Liru Walk with Aboriginal guides. On the famous Liru Walk you will explore the south of the Liru Ananguan through the beautiful near Uluru. Hear the tragic tale of Lurupangu (Blue Tongue Lizard Man), who is still living at the base of Uluru. See demonstrations of ancient bush skills such as making the bush (plant) glue, making fire and carving wooden tools with only a sharpened stone. Learn how to hold and throw a spear.
 Price Adults \$120 - Child \$70 - Seniors \$60 (over 65's only) (see below)
 Departure time prior to sunrise from Koonen - Duration: 1.5 hours - Walk Length: 3km approx

Mala Walk Tour
 Don't want to get up early for sunrise, or you are booked on a Service Centre Ride and still want to visit Uluru? This is the tour for you. This tour to Uluru includes a vehicle based tour of the park and then an Aboriginal Guided Mala Walk. Learn the sensitive story of the Mala (Woolly) people who lived at Uluru, with their friends the signpost (mural) people. Along the Mala Walk visit the only cultural centre of the Mala people, and learn how they lived and prepared for ceremonial at the base of Uluru. Visit sacred Kanyku Camp, a quiet water hole at the base of a dramatic rock face.
 Price Adults \$70 - Child \$40 - Seniors \$50 (over 65's only) (see below)
 Departure time prior to sunrise from Koonen - Duration: 1.5 hours - Walk Length: 1.5km approx

Tours from the Uluru Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre

If you have your own transport or are using the shuttle services you can join these tours at the Cultural Centre. All tours from the Cultural Centre are the same price.
Adults \$58 - Child \$29 - Family \$174
 (Family rate 2 adults, 2 children maximum)

Liru Walk
 Join an Aboriginal guide at the Cultural Centre for the famous Liru Walk, which retraces the path of the Liru Anangu through the heart of Uluru. Hear the tragic tale of Lurupangu (Blue Tongue Lizard Man), who still lives at the base of Uluru. See demonstrations of ancient bush skills such as making the bush (plant) glue, making fire and carving wooden tools with only a sharpened stone, and learn how to hold and throw a spear.
 Price Adults \$60 - Child \$29 - Family \$174
 Departure time prior to sunrise from Koonen - Duration: 1.5 hours - Walk Length: 3km approx

TOURS DO NOT INCLUDE NATIONAL PARK ENTRY TICKETS

Figure 124 Anangu Tours Brochure 2007



Figure 125 Discussing bush medicine on the Kuniya tour [ap]

The traditional owners consider storytelling within the landscape the only way to teach culture. As explained by an Anangu elder, 'I can't properly talk about the country, teach about the country unless I am in it, walking on it, touching it, looking at it.'⁸² Anangu tours feature Anangu guides who speak in their own language, generally either Yankunytjatjara or

⁸² Creagh Carson, "Looking after the Land at Uluru," *Ecos* 1992. p.13.

Pitjantjatjara, and a skilled interpreter. Two walks comprise the core of the tours: the Kuniya walk, the women's walk, which focuses on the Mutitjulu water hole; and The Liru walk, led by a male leader, which tells the Tjurkapa stories of the western side of Uluru including the blue tongue lizard man. These walks include hands-on demonstrations such as bush tucker, bush medicine and bush skills such as fire making and spear throwing.

Numerous scholars have commented on the value of storytelling in preference to indirect interpretation for presenting indigenous perspectives to a non-indigenous audience. Howard et al. conclude in their investigation of the roles of indigenous tour guides that '[f]ace-to-face interpretation is the most effective means for managing complex issues associated with the growing Aboriginal-tourist relationship.'⁸³ In her study of Kakadu National Park Dianne Lancashire stresses the importance of storytelling, stating 'stories remain a vital component of contemporary Aboriginal life and are often offered as a means by which people express and explain the profound, historical and necessary relationship between people and their land.'⁸⁴ Storytelling introduces a temporal perspective central to indigenous knowledge, simultaneously weaving Tjurkapa stories between past ancestors and contemporary understandings. These stories are not 'enduring forms,' but performative, constantly transformed with each telling.

Anangu tours present stories as valuable cultural knowledge, not simply information, with the visitor constantly reminded of their privileged position as receivers of this knowledge. Tours begin with an explanation of the significance of storytelling. Translator Megan Hatton stated on one tour,

...you might begin to understand how this story maps the land, it teaches you a few morals in life, it teaches you about the landscape where you would find water, different food, and different daily practices. So it's not just creation stories, but it's law stories, traditional law stories that are still alive and well to this day. It's geography, it's people's philosophies, its how you bring up your children and it's how you stay on track yourself.⁸⁵

Demand for cultural tourism?

While those tourists who participate in Anangu tours speak of an overwhelmingly positive experience, research into Aboriginal cultural tourism in Australian national parks in the 1990s suggests that the presumed positive benefit of tourism for Aboriginal economic

⁸³ Howard, Thwaites, and Smith, "Investigating the Roles of the Indigenous Tour Guide." p.32.

⁸⁴ Dianne Lancashire, "Open for Inspection: Problems in Representing a Humanised Wilderness," *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 10, no. 3 (1999). p. 317.

⁸⁵ ABC Radio National, "The Spirit of Things Australia's Sacred Sites Part 1 the Old Country Is Here - Aboriginal Inheritance and Uluru/Kata Tjuta," (2002).

recovery was flawed. Jon Altman draws a clear distinction between places where tourism has been invited and those where tourism has been imposed.⁸⁶ The joint-managed national parks of Kakadu and Uluru-Kata Tjuta fall into the second category, where the transfer of ownership has occurred after tourist patterns are established.⁸⁷ In these cases traditional owners have had no choice but to engage with tourism, framed by government as the opportunity for economic recovery. Research indicates that Aboriginal people in remote areas are not well positioned to participate in the demands of the tourist industry, a position reflected at Uluru by the minimal Anangu employment, despite intentions otherwise, at Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort.

Writing in 2003, Altman highlights many barriers which continue to have an impact on the ability of Aboriginal communities to participate in tourism. Barriers include low levels of literacy and communication skills, the assumption that Aboriginal people can operate as effective entrepreneurs, and conflict between the regularity demanded by the hospitality industry and the flexibility required to accommodate Aboriginal cultural practices and ceremonies.⁸⁸ These issues, combined with the considerable intrusion experienced by Aboriginal people working with tourism, means that many avoid employment within tourism, instead preferring indirect economic participation such as arts and craft. Financial gain from such involvement can be limited, tending towards a cash supplement to welfare rather than economic independence. Altman concludes that Aboriginal ownership of major tourist destinations provides no guarantee of economic opportunity, arguing that the most successful tourist ventures are run jointly between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal partners such as the Nyangatjatjara Aboriginal Corporation, which runs Anangu tours.

Research into tourist expectations of the joint-managed national parks of Kakadu and Uluru suggests that while tourists are interested in the traditional owners, they do not necessarily desire an explicit educational experience. Instead, in a continuation of historic attitudes, many tourists assume that an engagement with the landscape automatically brings an encounter with Aboriginal Australia. Ryan and Huyton conclude 'it would be a mistake to regard visitors as amateur anthropologists seeking a detailed understanding of Aboriginal peoples and their culture,' arguing that while demand for arts and craft was high, interest in

⁸⁶ Altman and Finlayson, "Aborigines, Tourism and Sustainable Development." p. 83.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 83.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 81.

Aboriginal culture was low.⁸⁹ They argued that an Aboriginal presence is assumed to be implicit as part of the broader experience of landscape.⁹⁰

The research on Aboriginal cultural tourism suggests that the initial economic assumptions of hand back are problematic, and that Aboriginal people do not want to engage with tourism any more than tourists desire an explicit cultural experience as part of a visit to the national park. The lack of Aboriginal people employed at Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort combined with the lack of participation at the cultural centre (which I establish in the following chapter) implies reluctance by Anangu to engage directly with tourism. Hand back has presumed that tourists desire an educative experience, promoting the insertion of an extensive interpretive layer into the park, with minimal consideration of the quality of tourist experience. In contrast, the tourist experience of Tongariro National Park remains premised on a recreational experience of pristine nature. Despite the recognition of the park as a World Heritage cultural landscape, minimal cultural interpretation is evident, suggesting a disjuncture between pristine nature and cultural significance that echoes the representation of environment within Te Papa. However, unlike Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, management strategies at Tongariro aim to protect the experiential quality of the tourist experience, choosing to limit numbers rather than alter the experiential qualities of a recreational wilderness.

.....

This comparative analysis of the physical infrastructure and the subsequent tourist experience of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks demonstrates contrasting emphases on culture and nature. Tongariro National Park remains framed overwhelmingly as a recreational experience of an unmodified nature. Walks and tramps offer limited in-situ interpretation or infrastructure in support of a cultural reading of landscape, and written interpretive material emphasises the 'natural' environment with minimal consideration of the park as a Maori cultural landscape. An experience of an unmodified environment is privileged, protected by management strategies that restrict tourist numbers to maintain qualities of solitude and remoteness fundamental to the 'wilderness' encounter. The absence of opportunities available to the visitor to experience Tongariro as a 'cultural' landscape mirrors the environmental representations at Te Papa that assert environmental purity over modification.

⁸⁹ Chris Ryan and Jeremy Huyton, "Aboriginal Tourism-a Linear Structural Relations Analysis of Domestic and International Tourist Demand," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 2 (2000). p.25.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

In contrast, major infrastructural changes are evident at post-hand back Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, most significantly the consolidation of all major tourist infrastructure to Yulara outside the boundaries of the National Park. Yulara reshaped the infrastructure and tourist experience by constraining tourists to an 'oasis-like' compound, generating a new space of 'exclusive' tourism located between the national park and Yulara, and by creating a tightly- choreographed encounter with the national park. However, the physical space of the national park does not match the comprehensive 'rewriting' of the space as an Anangu cultural landscape described in management plans. Instead a disjuncture of old and new park values becomes evident: a 'new' interpretive layer of Anangu cultural values is laid over the existing infrastructure, which maintains the previous understanding of the park as primarily about either looking at or climbing Uluru.

Further, Aboriginal people are largely absent from participation in the tourist industry and park management. I argue that this not only presents a confusing message to tourists but demonstrates two shortcomings in the translation of hand back aspirations into physical space and tourism strategies. Isolating the redesign of the cultural centre and the textual narration from a physical redesign of the park has placed undue reliance on educational agendas to reshape tourist interactions. Secondly, formalisation of relationships between Anangu, tourism and the national park was presumed to benefit the traditional owners. As I now go on to discuss in relationship to the cultural visitor centres, increased interaction between tourists and Anangu has not eventuated.

Chapter Eight

Representing the Park

The final chapter of this study moves from examination of the physical to the representational space of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks. In particular, it explores how the revised political and intellectual frameworks encompassing indigenous culture, nation and landscape are manifest in tourist representations. The analysis begins with the Whakapapa Visitor Centre and the 'new' Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, both located within the park, then moves on to examine tourist representations produced outside the parks in guidebooks, brochures and postcards, and in government branding strategies.

Exhibiting the Landscape

Interpretive or visitor centres in Australia and New Zealand national parks are a recent phenomenon. Education remained a low priority for Australasian national parks for much of the twentieth century. This differs significantly from the United States where museums were established in national parks by the early twentieth century. The first National Park Service director, Stephen Mather, as early as 1920 stressed the role of museums and public education, stating '[t]he education, as well as the recreational, use of national parks should be encouraged in every practicable way,' and recommended the establishment of adequate museums in every park.¹ Herman Bumpus, director of the American Museum of Natural History, was pivotal in the design of the first park museum opened in Yosemite in 1924, defining the museum's purpose to 'render the out-of-doors intelligible.'²

The new museology further advanced the concept of the museum within the landscape, most notably through the introduction of the eco-museum which emerged in France during the 1960s. Proposed by Frenchmen Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine, the eco-museum aimed to create stronger links between interpretation of environment and local communities.³ The eco-museum has had minimal impact in Australia or New Zealand. Indigenous cultural centres aimed at enhancing the broader community's understanding of indigenous perspectives have been more influential. Brambruk Living

¹ Michael Gross and Ron Zimmerman, "Park and Museum Interpretation: Helping Visitors Find Meaning," *Curator* 45, no. 4 (2002), p.265.

² Ibid.

³ For a discussion on eco-museum see Peter Davis, *Eco-Museums: A Sense of Place* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999).

Cultural Centre is one of Australia's earliest models, constructed in Victoria's Grampian region as a partnership of six Aboriginal co-operatives, as well as Portland, Hamilton and Heywood Aboriginal Communities.⁴ Opened in 1990, the Brambuk Centre proposed the representation of a living culture through a theatre and permanent exhibition space, combined with a café, restaurant and shop. These models of visitor centre and Aboriginal cultural centre form important precedents for contextualising the visitor-cultural centres of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks.

The first part of this chapter examines how the design and interpretive content of the two Centres recast the park as a cultural landscape, with a focus on the representation of indigenous perspectives. This examination offers a fresh understanding of both Centres. In the case of Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, analysis has emerged predominantly from architecture and overwhelmingly focuses on the representation of Aboriginal culture in form and space. Dominated by issues of authenticity and identity, this discourse, generated by scholars including Baker, Dovey, Lochert, Tawa and Underwood, although grounded in questions of Aboriginality tends to de-contextualise the centre from the political and physical context of the national park.⁵ In contrast, analysis of the Whakapapa Visitor Centre, first designed in 1962, is limited to functional analysis of visitor use, a perspective that also de-contextualises the centre from the park's historic and political context.⁶ Read in conjunction with the findings of Chapter Seven, this analysis offers a new perspective that contextualises the centres within the broader park infrastructure and tourist experience. In the case of the 'new' Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, I also consider the design brief and the subsequent architectural critique, as well as contextualising the centre against contemporaneous cultural centres constructed at Kakadu National Park.

As might be expected, this comparative analysis reveals that the content of the cultural-visitor centres closely mirrors the philosophies of the management plans. Whakapapa Visitor Centre features vignettes of natural and cultural information, while Uluru-Kata

⁴ For a discussion on Brambuk see Kim Dovey, "Aboriginal Cultural Centres," in *The Oxford Companion to Aboriginal Art and Culture*, ed. cultural editor Robyne Bancroft general editor Sylvia Kleinert and Margo Neale (Melbourne: Melbourne:Oxford University Press, 2000), Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*, revised edition ed. (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁵ Carolyne Baker, "(De) Constructing Identity: The Cultural Centre and Construction of Indigenous Identity" (paper presented at the Habitas 2004, Berlin, Germany, Dec 6-8 2004), Kim Dovey, "Architecture for the Aborigines," *Architecture Australia* Jul-Aug (1996), Jane M Jacobs, Kim Dovey, and Mathilde Lochert, "Authorising Aboriginality in Architecture," in *White Papers, Black Marks: Architecture, Race, Culture*, ed. Lesley Naa Norie Lokko (London: Athlone Press, 2000), Michael Tawa, "Liru Kuniya," *Architecture Australia* 85, no. 6 (1996), Dan Underwood, "Snake Charmer," *The Architectural Review* 200, no. Nov (1996).

⁶ See Fiona Colquhoun, ed., *Interpretation Handbook and Standard: Distilling the Essence* (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2005).

Tjuta Cultural Centre showcases Anangu cultural perspectives of landscape, while providing areas for performance and the sale of Aboriginal art. Both centres lack the presence of the traditional owners albeit in differing degrees. Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, while privileging Anangu perspectives, does not fulfil its ambition to operate as a zone of meaningful contact between Anangu and tourists. A tourist's experience of the centre is likely to involve no direct contact with the traditional owners, who are experienced through representation rather than occupation. However, I argue that the Centre does introduce a unique design approach to the park that, unlike the 'frontier' architecture of Yulara or the existing 'functional' infrastructure, positions architecture and infrastructure as a response to the landscape rather than segregated from it. The Whakapapa Visitor Centre provides tourists with minimal information on Maori connections to the landscape outside the story of the gift, represented through the bust of the paramount chief, and vague statements of significance and mythological accounts offered by an audio-visual presentation. Similar to the management plans and the park interpretive material, these representations continue to position Maori as part of a 'prehistory' to the park and provide evidence of on-going tensions regarding the co-management of the park.

A Mediating Space

The concept of an Aboriginal cultural centre was pivotal to the aspirations of hand back, and was conceived of as a strategic insertion into the space of the national park to alter the tourist's experience and interpretation of the landscape. According to the 1986 management plan, the centre's role was three-fold, encompassing interpretive material relating to traditional culture and history; displaying and selling contemporary Aboriginal arts and craft; and facilitating the performance of traditional song and dance.⁷ Importantly the centre was conceptualised as a contact zone, an interface between Anangu and tourism, a place of meaningful cultural exchange. Translation of these lofty ambitions into architecture, exhibition space and tourist experience has proved inconsistent. While the centre certainly fulfils functional and symbolic agendas such as privileging Anangu perspectives of landscape over the concept of the national park, the centre does not achieve the ambition to act as a contact zone. Tourists are offered a representation of Anangu culture presented through architectural symbolism, exhibition content and the sale of art works, with the traditional owners largely absent from the Centre.

⁷ Uluru Katatjuta Board of Management, "Uluru (Ayers Rock - Mount Olga) National Park: Plan of Management," (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1986).p. 55.

In September 1990, architect Greg Burgess was commissioned to prepare a brief and design concept for the centre in association with Anangu. The ambitious agendas for the cultural centre challenged the design team to interpret the aspirations of the Anangu people first into a design brief and then into architectural form. Consultation revealed that while Anangu supported a symbolic 'bringing together' of themselves and tourists, this contact required careful mediation.⁸ Anangu were concerned that the centre should be 'seen as an Anangu place where they invite visitors, not a tourist place which tolerates Anangu.'⁹ According to the final brief, the centre aimed to operate as 'an accessible interface between all parties to joint management and visitors to the park' encouraging 'an exchange of cultural experiences and perceptions.'¹⁰ The design process itself was also premised on cultural exchange with the designers spending almost a month living in Mutitjulu talking, listening and consulting with the community.

Siting the Centre

Two commissioned paintings, one by Nellie Paterson focusing on women's perspectives of the Centre and another by Barbara Tjikatu and her husband Nipper Winmati describing significant Tjukurpa stories of Uluru, formed a central point of discussion.¹¹ According to the designers, these paintings, one of which is shown in Figure 126, proved valuable in strengthening Anangu ownership of the project as well as helping the designers develop an appreciation of Anangu stories of Uluru and their aspirations, a difficult undertaking given that neither party spoke the other's language.¹² These conversations, together with careful consideration of the fragile desert environment led to the siting of the centre in a scattering of desert oaks on the southern side of Uluru, two kilometres from its base. This positioning placed the centre on the same side of Uluru as the fierce battle between Tjurkapa ancestors Kuniya the female woma python and Liru the male poisonous brown snake. Importantly, the centre was sited away from the base of the rock.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the siting of the centre aimed to interrupt the manner in which tourists structured their interaction with the park, with the centre envisaged as the first place of call. However this strategy, as indicated in the plan shown in Figure 127, relied on the re-alignment of the road pattern to reinforce the prominence of the centre, while

⁸ Gregory Pty.Ltd. Architects Burgess, "Uluru National Park Cultural Centre: Project Brief and Concept Design," (Mutitjulu community and Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1990). pp. 13-14.

⁹ Ibid. p.4.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.4.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 4.

¹² Ibid. p.4.

also encouraging visitors to walk from the centre to the base of the rock. Ten years after the opening of the centre, there has been no change in road alignment. The principal strategy for encouraging tourists to interact with and experience the desert landscape as part of the cultural centre experience involves the walk from the car park to the centre. In contrast to the design of other park infrastructure premised on control and functionality, the car park was strategically set back from the centre, requiring visitors to walk at least 80 meters to the building.

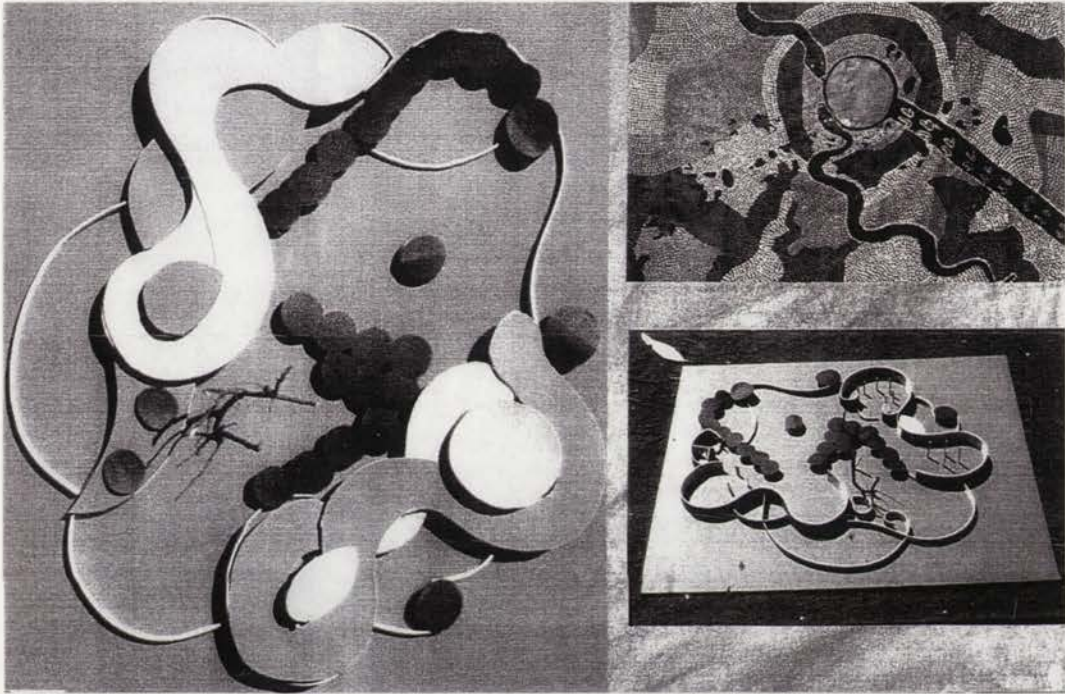


Figure 126 Models and concepts for the centre, including an original painting (Burgess, Uluru National Park and Concept Brief, 1990, p.31.)

The design by landscape architects Taylor and Cullity for the parking bays and entrance sequence demonstrates a new philosophy towards park infrastructure. Separated into discrete bays defined by desert plantings of spinifex and casuarinas, the car park bays shown in Figure 128 reflect the possibility of designing even the most functional infrastructure within, rather than separated from, the desert landscape. Similarly, visitors walk to the cultural centre along paths marked by informal barriers of dry wood and vegetation, as shown in Figure 129, demonstrating the ability to control crowds through subtle design detailing.

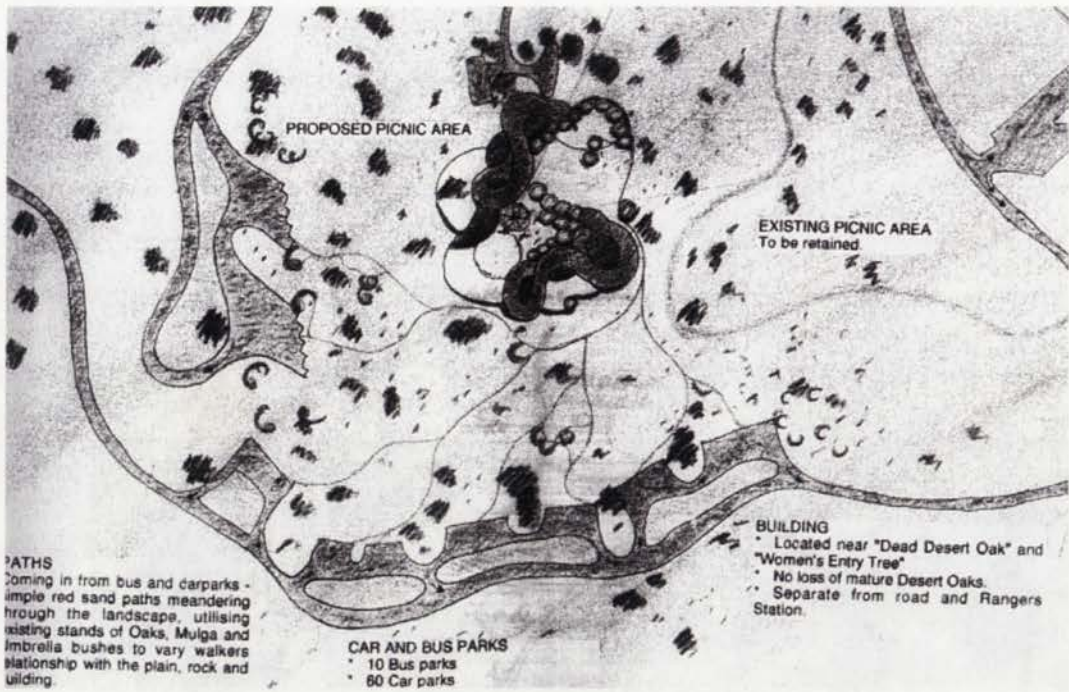


Figure 127 Initial siting plan for the centre indicating the set back of car parking (Burgess, Uluru National Park and Concept Brief, 1990, p.29.)



Figure 128 Car park set back from the cultural centre and designed with desert plants [ap]

A glimpse of a curved roof through the desert landscape provides the first evidence of the cultural centre, accompanied by a welcome sign from the traditional owners stating 'We custodians of this place are really happy for you to come and look around our country.' This signage, shown in Figure 130, establishes visitor protocol, including a warning not to take photos anywhere in the complex, as well as explaining the facilities within the centre. Visitors enter the centre through a curved veranda which blurs the transition between the harsh light of the desert and the darkened exhibition space. Without any major architectural entry gesture, the centre slowly unfolds into a sequence of interweaving interior and

exterior spaces, clustered around a central courtyard featuring a dead desert oak. This spatial configuration emerged from dialogue between designers and Anangu facilitated through paintings, models, drawings and conversation. Over time the design slowly evolved into a dynamic series of spaces and programs which, according to the designers, Anangu began to identify as the Tjurkapa ancestors Kuniya and Liru 'lying watching each other warily across the wiltja area.'¹³



Figure 129 Walking to the cultural centre through the landscape [ap]



Figure 130 (left) Welcome Sign [ap]



Figure 131 (right) Entering into the Centre [ap]

¹³ Ibid. p. 4a.



Figure 132 Post card Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre showing the two major 'snake' like forms clustered around a central court yard

Burgess' architectural response differs significantly from the 'frontier' town aesthetic of Cox's scheme for Yulara premised on corrugated iron, verandas and an oasis retreat. Similar to the approach of the landscape architects, the spatiality and materiality of the architecture provides a more detailed engagement with the desert environment. Mud brick walls of local soil form the walls, offering an economical material that also provides a technical response to the extreme climatic conditions.¹⁴ Blood wood shingles shape the sinuous roof, creating a textural pattern that echoes the uneven surface of Uluru, which as shown in Figure 133 lies in the background. Casuarina fences define the interior space of the centre.

The architectural form, while certainly derivative of the Tjurkapa stories, developed into an intricate interweaving of interior and exterior spaces, an aspect highlighted in many architectural critiques as well as in the descriptions by Burgess. Michael Tawa described an architecture of 'peeling skin,' a framing of 'crossing' space which 'iterates the cadences of moving among dunes, sliding between landscape and narrative.'¹⁵ Burgess wrote of 'a mysterious undulating presence of kin, sinew and shadow emerging and disappearing, looking, approaching, withdrawing.'¹⁶

¹⁴ According to the initial report, materials of rammed earth walls and floors, light weight insulated timber frame and metal clad roofing, together with adjustable screens and winder openings were selected to provide an energy efficient building with low maintenance costs.

¹⁵ Tawa, "Liru Kuniya." p.54.

¹⁶ Gregory Burgess, "The Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre," *Architect*, no. January/February (1998). p. 21.



Figure 133 View of the sinuous roof of the centre with the overlooking Uluru in the background [ap]

Displaying Anangu

The internal spaces of the centre present a one-way sequence of exhibits and programs, beginning with an opening exhibition featuring Anangu perspectives of land and culture. A combination of map-like paintings and text translations introduce the Tjurkapa stories of Mala – the hare wallaby, Liru the male poisonous snake, Kuniya the female python and Lungkata the blue tongue lizard. This opening representation differs markedly from conventional national park interpretive displays, which typically focus on the park's history and scientific documentation of flora and fauna.¹⁷ An audio-visual presentation in an adjacent small theatre supplements this exhibition, presenting Anangu dances and songs. A more 'orthodox' text, artefact and image display introduces Anangu cultural practices including distinctions between men and women's business. The final text panel focuses on the climbing the rock, highlighting the reasons why Anangu request tourists not climb. The panel states:

That rock is a really important sacred thing. You shouldn't climb it! Climbing is not a proper part of this place. There is a true story to be properly understood. Don't climb. Don't take photographs of Anangu; don't take rock away; don't take photos of sacred sites.

¹⁷The visitor centre at Voyagers-Ayers Rock Resort for example includes extensive diorama showcasing the unique flora and fauna of the desert environment.

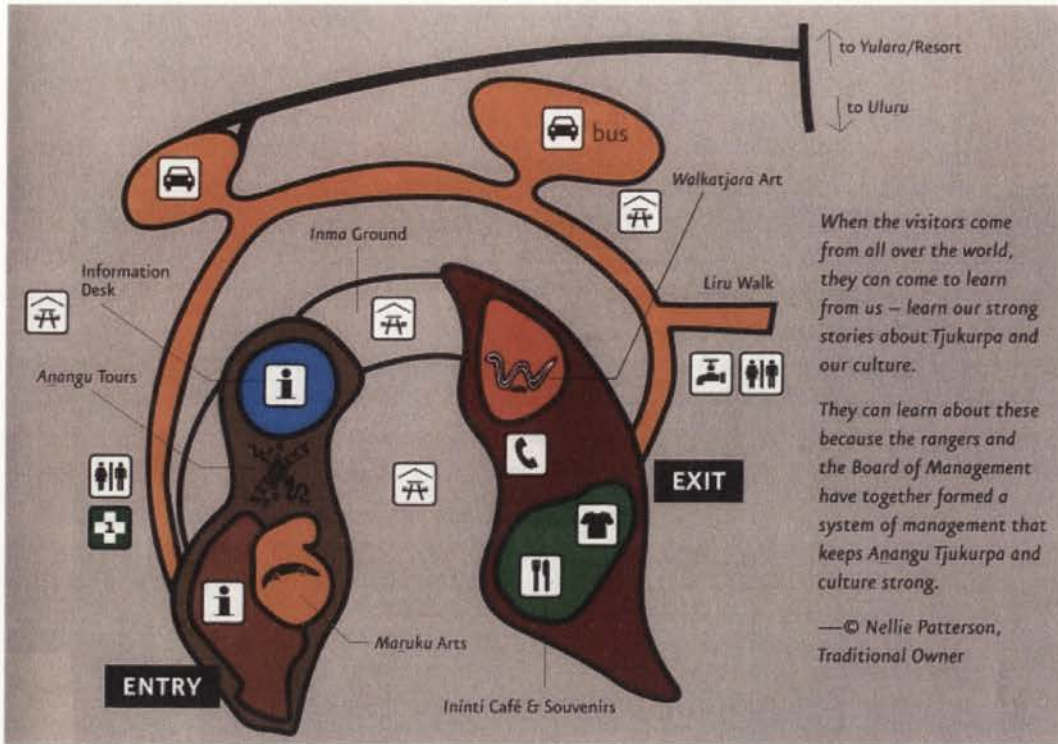


Figure 134 Plan of the Cultural Centre (Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Guide, 2006 p.9.)

Visitors emerge from this display under a covered walkway which opens towards the external Inma performance area before entering the Nintiringkupai room. Featuring the national park information desk staffed by park rangers, this small room displays vignettes of European and political history leading up to hand back, and the philosophy of post-hand back management including the concept of Anangu understandings of habitat.¹⁸ A small collection of ‘sorry rocks,’ a fraction of the rocks sent back to the park each year, is also displayed, accompanied by some of the apologetic letters.¹⁹ Three commercial enterprises of potential economic benefit to Anangu people complete the centre: Ininti Souvenirs and Café (a reference to the original Ininti garage) and the two art centres Maruka Arts and Walkatjara Art. Walkatjara Art emerged from a group of artists from the Mutitjulu Women’s Centre commissioned to provide ceramic tiles and murals for the cultural centre. Maruka Arts was established at the Mutitjulu community in 1984, marketing art and craft for artists living in Pitjantjatjara – Yankunytjatjara – Ngaanyatjara land.²⁰

¹⁸ These habitats include tali (sand dunes), pila (sand planes), puti (mulga), puli (rocky places), karu (watercourses) and nyaru (burnt regions).

¹⁹ The national park receives at least one package a day from people sending back sections of the rock that they have taken on visits. The motive for this response is currently under investigation by University of Western Sydney student Jasmine Foxlee as part of her doctoral studies.

²⁰ Maruka Arts sends buyers out into the region several times a year. These art centres allow Aboriginal people to gain income from tourism without any direct interaction with tourism, also allowing artists to work discontinuously.

The design differs significantly from the approaches developed for the two cultural centres located in Kakadu National Park, another Northern Territory jointly-managed national park. The Bowali Visitor Centre, which opened in 1994, incorporates Aboriginal and scientific perspectives of the park, while the Warradjan Cultural Centre opened a year later focuses purely on Aboriginal relationships to the park. Review of the two centres has been mixed. Lisa Palmer argues that while the representation of Kakadu National Park as a cultural landscape guides both centres, the Bowali Visitor Centre 'presents Aborigines as little more than a narrative device in a much bigger story.'²¹ She argues that the strategy of presenting two distinctive views of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal perspectives of the park without qualification or explanation is problematic. Palmer maintains that the presentation of Aboriginal perspectives as poems, 'a textual style associated by the scientific meta-discourse with creative texts' leads to Aboriginal perspectives appearing 'ancillary and not authoritative.'²² She argues that the Warradjan Centre, which structures interpretation around the Aboriginal calendar for seasonal change, more successfully depicts Kakadu as a cultural landscape, presenting culture as inseparable from the landscape.²³

On one level the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Culture Centre shares the Warradjan Centre focus on presenting an Aboriginal land management philosophy. The opening sequence of map-like paintings depicting Tjurkapa raises similar issues to Palmer's criticism of the representation of Aboriginal perspective at Bowali Visitor Centre, namely whether these 'creative' displays diminish the value of the knowledge. Do visitors 'read' these images as aesthetic or do they successfully communicate, as intended, the inseparable link between Anangu culture and place? Dianne Lancashire raises this question in her study of Kakadu National Park, claiming representations of Aboriginality often 'provoke an aesthetic response, whether the representations take the form of paintings, dances and dramatic plays or 'informative' brochures, national parks and cultural centres.'²⁴ The absence of a direct Anangu presence at the centre compounds difficulties of interpretation, lessening the opportunity for Anangu to translate what might be perceived as aesthetic representations into knowledge.

²¹ Lisa Palmer, "Interpreting 'Nature': The Politics of Engaging with Kakadu as an Aboriginal Place," *Cultural Geographies* 14 (2007). p. 268.

²² Ibid. p. 264.

²³ Ibid. p. 265.

²⁴ Dianne Lancashire, "Open for Inspection: Problems in Representing a Humanised Wilderness," *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 10, no. 3 (1999).p. 318.

A Contact Zone?

Occupation and interaction were central to the planning of the centre. Visitors may sight Anangu women painting in the wiltja adjacent to Maruka Art Centre, but unless they participate in Anangu tours it is highly likely that tourists will visit the centre without any direct contact with Anangu. Appreciation of Anangu perspectives occurs predominantly through representations communicated by the symbolism of the architecture, the map-like Tjurkapa paintings, recordings of songs and dances or the art works for sale in Maruka or Walkatjara Art. From a tourist perspective, this absence of Anangu seems to have little impact on their experience, with responses in the cultural centre's visitor book overwhelmingly positive.²⁵ While this study includes no direct response from the Anangu community, it can be assumed from the original intentions of the brief that this lack of cultural exchange is a disappointment.²⁶ Revisiting the brief, it is clear that meaningful contact was a major aspiration of Anangu:

If the Centre is to provide for meaningful contact between the community and tourists, the Anangu must want to congregate at the centre, use it as a teaching place and see it as a place where they perform dancing and singing for themselves as well as for tourists.²⁷

Architectural critique has also been positive, evidenced by the scheme's many awards.²⁸ The architectural discourse has focused predominantly on the interpretation of Aboriginal identity and culture by a non-indigenous architect. Issues of authenticity, cultural appropriation and cultural authority are central to critiques, approaches which tend to de-contextualise the centre from the political and physical context of the national park. Architects Shaneen Fantin and Kim Dovey offer alternative perspectives for both designing and evaluating the centre. Rather than abstracting Aboriginal semiotic devices into plan, form or section, Fantin instead calls for a focus on social practices, developing 'identity through occupation first, representation later.'²⁹ This response shifts from presenting Aboriginal culture as an object to creating an architecture based on daily events, activities, use and occupation. Similarly, architect Kim Dovey concludes that more important than whether the cultural centres conform to the 'formal expectations for an

²⁵ Richard Baker in his 2004 study of heritage interpretation at Uluru comments on the extraordinarily positive feedback in the comment book, stating that they are better than any museum he has worked in.

²⁶ Dovey, "Aboriginal Cultural Centres." p. 422.

²⁷ Burgess, "Uluru National Park Cultural Centre: Project Brief and Concept Design." p.37.

²⁸ Awards have included the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (Northern Territory Branch) 1996 Tracy Memorial Award for best building in any category, the Institutional Architecture Award and the People's Choice Award. In 2002 Landscape Architects Taylor Cullity Lethlean were awarded an Australian Institute of Landscape Architects Project National Award for the category Design-Heritage.

²⁹ Shaneen Fantin, "Aboriginal Identities in Architecture," *Architecture Australia* Sept/Oct (2003). p.86.

architecture of liberation' is 'whether the building embodies forms of liberating practice.'³⁰ Adopting these criteria, the minimal Anangu presence raises serious questions about the success of the centre.

What might account for the absence of Anangu from the centre? As discussed in Chapter Seven, research into Aboriginal cultural tourism reveals multiple reasons for low participation rates ranging from low levels of literacy to the considerable intrusion experienced by Aboriginal people working with tourism. The observations of Tim Rowse, who worked with the Mutitjulu community during the 1980s, provide additional clues. Writing in 1992 Rowse argued that the removal of tourist functions from where Anangu lived may have increased alienation from tourism, claiming that earlier informal interaction based on selling small amounts directly to tourists or through the Ininti store provided more of a perception of control as distinct from 'designed' contact points such as Yulara.³¹ While Anangu may have aspired for more meaningful contact, the formalisation of such encounters within spaces such as the cultural centre seem problematic, as do the increasing number of tourists which places the traditional owners under excessive scrutiny.

Lancashire concluded of Kakadu National Park that the 'roles Aboriginal people have to play in a place which is both home and museum—in a space which is both home and museum—require a tolerance and sensitivity to visitors that is not demanded of most people elsewhere.'³² This pressure is heightened at Uluru where the Anangu community numbers less than 400, and the concentration of tourist activity is far more intense. Therefore while Burgess' 1990 discussions with Anangu may have identified the desire that tourists develop a greater understanding of their culture, the reality of the demands and intrusion of 'meaningful contact' seem to be too much for the local community. Similar to the limited Anangu engagement within the tourist industry discussed in Chapter Seven, the formalisation of relationships between Anangu and tourism, while intended to elevate the cultural authority and economic positioning of the traditional owners, has not resulted in increased level of engagement or economic gain.

³⁰ Dovey, "Architecture for the Aborigines."pp. 98-105.

³¹ Tim Rowse, "Hosts and Guests at Uluru," *Meanjin* 51 (1992).p. 257.

³² Lancashire, "Open for Inspection:Problems in Representing a Humanised Wilderness."p.309.

A Centre for Information

Such aspirations for meaningful contact or representation of Maori culture were never intended for the Whakapapa Visitor Centre, which is instead framed as an ‘information’ rather than ‘culture’ centre. Unlike the ‘new’ insertion of the cultural centre into Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, the Whakapapa Visitor Centre has evolved since the building was first constructed in 1962 by the Park superintendent. New additions were opened in 1987 to coincide with the centenary of national parks in New Zealand. In 2001, exhibitions and layout of the centre were revised to introduce more explicit cultural connections between Ngati Tuwharetoa and the mountains.³³ Despite these ‘cultural’ additions and its promotion as a ‘Cultural and Volcanic Centre,’ the centre remains closely aligned with the visitor centre precedent of the American national park, featuring vignettes of ‘scientific’ environmental displays, an information desk and retail shop, with audio-visual displays and a ski museum. Maori connections to the park, while showcased in the opening foyer, remain focused on the gift with displays containing no detailed information of Maori connections to the landscape. Instead, consistent with the management plan, the gift is presented as a ‘prehistory’ to the park.



Figure 135 Plaque documenting ‘the gift’ located at the entrance to the visitor centre [ap]

References to Maori connections to the park are scattered around the external spaces of the Centre. Given the absence of in-situ interpretation within the park or the acknowledgement of the traditional owners on the park’s entrance signage, these plaques and artefact provide tourists with the first formal acknowledgement of the park’s origins. A plaque near the door, shown in Figure 135, part of the 1987 refurbishments explains the gifting of the park by Te Heu Heu, while a large stone protected by a heavy railing celebrates the dual World

³³ Colquhoun, ed., *Interpretation Handbook and Standard: Distilling the Essence*, p.44.

Heritage of Tongariro.³⁴ A large pou carving adjacent to the main door shown in Figure 136 provides a further Maori reference, depicting the whakapapa of Ngata Tuwharetoa.³⁵ The entrance foyer offers the most prominent representation of Maori connections to Tongariro, featuring a bust of the paramount chief of Tuwharetoa, which was first unveiled at Tongariro in 1953, the work of Wellington artist Alex R. Fraser.³⁶



Figure 136 Entrance to the Whakapapa Visitor Centre featuring the pou carving [ap]

Celebrating the Gift

Framed on either side by woven tukutuku panels, the bust is presented on a plinth titled ‘The Sacred Gift.’ Striking in its absence, there is no explanation of the complex reasons underlying te Heuheu’s decision to gift the land to the Crown or the fact that the gift continues to be disputed. Nor are relationships between Maori and park explored in any detail. The significance of Tongariro to Tuwharetoa and Whanganui iwi remains general.

Text panels state:

the kahui maunga of Tongariro National Park holds a strong spiritual significance for tangata whenua (people of the land) of the central plateau. They are sacred places which tangata whenua identify with and from which they draw mana (status, prestige, integrity) and enhanced identity.

³⁴ This stone contains taonga from other sacred ancestral mountains of New Zealand including Motatau of Ngati Hine, Te Tai Tokerau, Northland; Taupiri of the Confederated Tribes of Tainui waka, Waikato; Putauaki of Ngati Awa, Te Tini-o-Tol, Kawerau; Maungapohatu of Ngai Tuhoe, Te Urewera; Taranaki of Te Atiawa, Te Tai Hauauro, Taranaki and Aoraki of Kai Tahu and Te Waipounamu, South Island.

³⁵ This carving illustrates a chronology beginning with the Ranginui and Papatuanuku, the parents of life and land, and Ruaumoko their son the god of volcanoes and storms. The middle depicts the battle between the mountains of Tongariro and Taranaki over Pihanga, leading to the separation of Taranaki to the east coast. The bottom section illustrates Ngatoroirangi responsible for the mountain’s fire, with the tupuna of Ngati Tuwharetoa located below.

³⁶ David Thom, *Heritage: The Parks of the People* (Auckland: Lansdowne Press, 1987).p. 155.



Figure 137 Opening foyer featuring the bust of the paramount chief of Tuwharetoa, Horonuku te Heuheu Tukino IV [ap]



Figure 138 Display of 'Sacred Gift' which offers no historic contextualization of the act [ap]



Figure 139 Display highlighting the other sacred mountains of New Zealand [ap]

After this opening sequence, Maori connections to the park ‘disappear’ completely, replaced by representations of the park as a scientific and recreational playground. The second sequence features the Department of Conservation desk, a gift shop selling souvenirs and park information, and a display area. With no park entrance station, the centre forms the principal point for providing information, displaying weather and track conditions and types of walks, as well as selling maps, pamphlets and guide books. A large three-dimensional model of the park’s landscape shown in Figure 140 forms a major feature. There is no discernable order to displays, which present vignettes of information including geology, volcanic eruptions, flora and fauna, park management, World Heritage, types of walks, as well as a small ‘ski’ museum.



Figure 140 Physical Model of the topography of the National Park which according to visitor surveys is one of the centre’s most popular displays. [ap]

These brief panels, a selection of which are shown in Figures 141-143, align with interpretive strategies of American national park visitor centres that relegate fuller narratives to publications and audio-visual material, leaving the centre to provide morsels of information aimed at ‘stimulating’ and ‘evoking’ emotional responses and enriching insights.³⁷

³⁷ Gross and Zimmerman, "Park and Museum Interpretation: Helping Visitors Find Meaning," pp.266-7.



Figure 141 (left) Display of skiing history [ap]

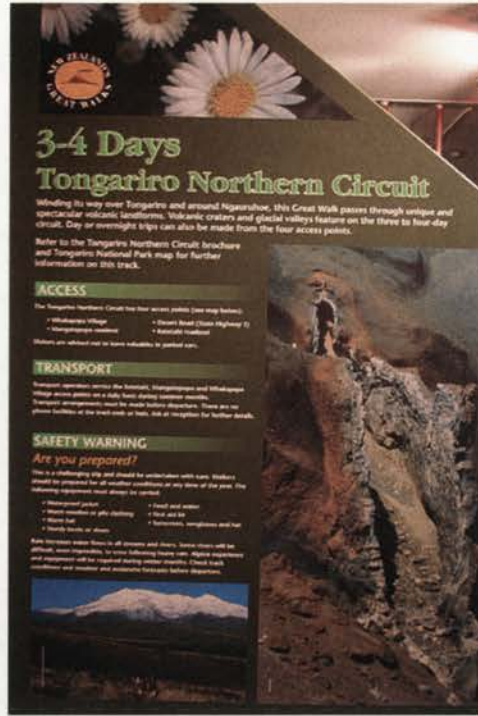


Figure 142 (right) Short displays of major walks [ap]

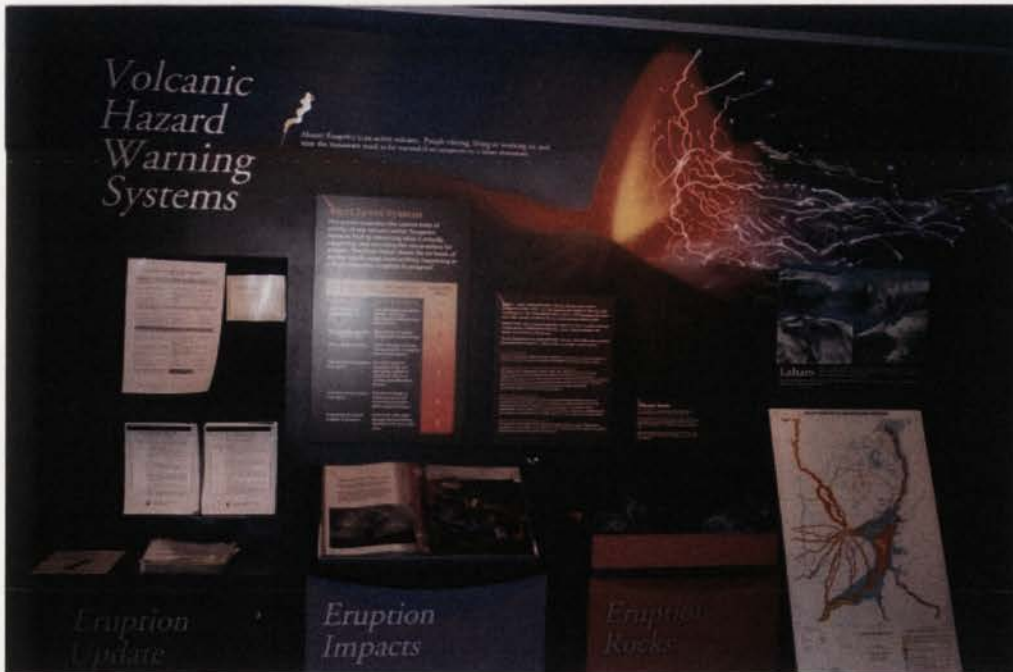


Figure 143 Display featuring the unpredictable volcanic environment [ap]

Mythological Connections

An audio-visual theatre completes the centre. Two audio-visual presentations, Volcanic Ring of Fire and the Sacred Gift of Tongariro are available for view to paying visitors. The

Sacred Gift audio-visual display opened in 1992,³⁸ and formed part of the successful bid to have Tongariro listed as the first World Heritage 'cultural landscape.'³⁹ This 25-minute film, which explains the formation of the landscape according to Maori whakapapa, shares many similarities with Te Papa's audio-visual display of Papatuanuku, telling Maori creation stories through a combination of animation, visual effects and sound. These stories are interspersed with tourist commentary explaining why they enjoy the national park, citing recreational opportunities and wilderness experience. This representation not only mirrors the 'shared values' presented within management plans but in the absence of any further discussion of Maori relationships to the landscape within the centre, presents Maori whakapapa as 'prehistory' to the park. Combined with the emphasis on the gift in the foyer of the Centre, this representation of Maori mirrors Palmer's observation of Bowali Visitor Centre, presenting indigenous people 'as little more than a narrative device in a much bigger story.'⁴⁰

Both visitor-culture centres demonstrate in varying degrees the effects of the absence of the traditional owners. Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, while privileging Anangu perspectives of landscape, does not realize the aspiration to operate as a zone of meaningful contact between Anangu and tourists. A tourist's experience of the centre is likely to involve no direct contact with Anangu, with representation through architecture, exhibition, recordings of performance and artworks forming the dominant tourist engagement with Anangu culture. In a relatively recent change, the Centre introduces a new approach to designing the park's infrastructure that positions paths, car parks and architecture as a response to the landscape, rather than separate from it. In contrast, the Whakapapa Visitor Centre offers tourists minimal information on Maori connections to the landscape outside the story of the gift, represented through the bust of the paramount chief, vague statements of significance and mythological accounts offered by the audio-visual presentation.

Both centres reflect a reluctance by the traditional owners to be directly involved with tourism: Anangu for the intrusion and the demands of tourism industry; Maori, as suggested by the management plan, in response to on-going tensions regarding co-

³⁸ The film was opened by Prime Minister Jim Bolger in the presence of representatives of Ngati Tuwharetoa and Atihaunui a Paparingi.

³⁹ S P Forbes, "Nomination of the Tongariro National Park for the Inclusion in the World Heritage Cultural List: He Koha Tapu-a Sacred Gift," in *Conservation Advisory Science Notes No. 68*. (Wellington: Department of Conservation, 1994). p.17.

⁴⁰ Palmer, "Interpreting 'Nature': The Politics of Engaging with Kakudu as an Aboriginal Place." p. 268.

management and the contestation of the gift. Visitation rates offer further reasons to question the assumed prominence of the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre to the tourist experience of the national park. Visitor statistics for both centres demonstrate that many tourists do not visit the centre; 60% of visitors stop at Whakapapa Visitor centre, with most staying no longer than 20 minutes compared to 57% at the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, as reported in 2000.⁴¹ This suggests that the role of the centres remains an adjunct to the primary experience of the physical space of the park, forming just one of many representations that influence visitors' expectations and interactions.

Representing the Landscape

Management plans for Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks define varying degrees of control over tourist representations, ranging from the 'encouragement' of New Zealand's tourist industry to reflect park values to the enforcement of regulations at Uluru through fines and permits. The second part of this chapter turns from the culture-visitor centres, where representation is controlled directly by park management, towards an exploration of representations produced outside the park. This picks up and extends a body of research that links visual representation with tourist practices. Emerging during the late 1990s, John Urry's pioneering work introduced the concepts of the 'tourist gaze' and the 'hermeneutic circle.'⁴² David Crouch and Nina Lubben claim their 2003 edited volume *Visual Culture and Tourism* was the first to focus on the 'diverse ways in which visual practices and representations have been implicated in the rituals and experiences of tourism.'⁴³

This section completes the analysis of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks as both physical and representational space, extending the earlier examination of tourist representations produced from within the national parks to explore two further types: representations within guidebooks, brochures and postcards; and government branding strategies. I explore how these representations, in circulation between 2005 and 2007, reflect the parks' recasting as cultural landscapes, comparing these representations with the historic patterns outlined in Chapter Two. Academic writings on landscape branding by

⁴¹ Colquhoun, ed., *Interpretation Handbook and Standard: Distilling the Essence*, Parks Australia, "Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Visitor Infrastructure Master Plan (Draft)," (Canberra: Parks Australia, 2000).

⁴² See John Urry, "Gazing on History," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage and Museums*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁴³ David Crouch and Nina Lubben, "Introduction," in *Visual Culture and Tourism*, ed. David Crouch and Nina Lubben (New York: Berg, 2003).p.1.

Jutel, Jones and Smith, as well as research on Uluru as sacred space by Digance, Gelder, Jacobs and Baker,⁴⁴ expands this analysis.

This analysis demonstrates that, similar to the park's infrastructure, Tongariro remains presented as a 'heterotopic wonderland', with minimal acknowledgement of the park as a cultural landscape. Images of the ski-fields and The Chateau continue to circulate, while aerial panoramic views introduce a 'new' image of a pristine wilderness. Surprisingly, while major changes are evident in the tourist industry's representation of Uluru, the most popular tourist representations of postcards and souvenirs remain the least altered. A juxtaposition of 'good' and 'bad' tourist representations mirror the mixed messages of the park infrastructure. In contrast, government branding strategies aimed at attracting 'experience seekers' are aligned with post-hand back park values. The absorption of Uluru into a global network of spiritual sites demonstrates the difficulties of 'controlling' the meaning of a globally iconic landscape. The landscape remains a site of individual projection, a position shared by the iconic landscape of Tongariro. However, the New Zealand government, as well as the individual, continues to support an ambiguity of meaning for Tongariro, maximising its ability to be recast according to economic opportunity.

Heterotopic Wonderland

In a continuation of early-twentieth century patterns, postcards and guidebooks of Tongariro National Park replicate images of a natural wonderland emphasising skiing, the Chateau and the scenic grandeur of the volcanic peaks. Two refined representations are evident. With the increasing commercialization of the ski-fields, a separate representation of Mt Ruapehu as a ski-field emerges, establishing an ambiguous relationship between the site and the national park. The new panoramic aerial images aided by advancements in technology parallel these representations, capturing for the first time an image of wilderness. However, not one postcard refers to the park's status as a cultural landscape. At times, Maori connections to the landscape are referred to in guidebooks, but as with the

⁴⁴ Richard Baker, "Interpreting Heritage within the Contested Landscape of Uluru," (Human Geography series, ANU, 2004), Justine Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites," *Annals of Tourism research* 30, no. 1 (2003), Ken Gelder, "The Imaginary Eco-(Pre) Historian: Peter Read's Belonging as a Postcolonial 'Symptom'," *Australian Humanities Review* September (2000), Ken Gelder and Jane M Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1998), Deborah Jones and Karen Smith, "Middle-Earth Meets New Zealand: Authenticity and Location in the Making of the Lord of the Rings," *Journal of Management Studies* 42, no. 5 (2005), Thierry Jutel, "Lord of the Rings: Landscape, Transformation, and the Geography of the Virtual," in *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Identity, Space and Place*, ed. Claudia Bell and Steve Matthewman (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004).

visitor centre and park interpretive material, the status of Maori cultural associations and the visitor's obligations to these values remains vague.

Binary Constructions

The 2006 Ruapehu Visitor Guide *Ruapehu: escape, energise, play* presents Tongariro National Park as two distinct places: a 'National Park' depicted by an aerial shot of pristine wilderness accompanied by the caption 'the living heart of New Zealand', and 'Mt Ruapehu' presented as an active recreational playground represented by an image of a snowboarder.⁴⁵ This sets up an ambiguous relationship between the national park and ski-fields, and raises questions as to whether Mt Ruapehu is part of the national park or a separate identity. Equally ambiguous is the status of Maori significance. The image of the snowboarder shown in Figure 144 is accompanied by the statement 'In Maori legend, the mountains were once gods and warriors of great strength.'⁴⁶ The tense of the phrase is deliberately vague, casting doubt as to whether the mountains are still considered gods by Maori. The ambiguity continues in the official 2006 Ruapehu Visitor's Guide which opens with the statement 'Sacred to local Maori, it is enjoyed and explored all year round by hikers, skiers, snow boarders, botanists, geologists and nature lovers alike.'⁴⁷ Implications of sacredness remain unexplored and unexplained.



Figure 144 The 2006 Ruapehu Visitor Guide presenting the two different places 'Tongariro National Park' and 'Mt Ruapehu'

⁴⁵ Ruapehu discovery, "Ruapehu Visitor Guide Escape. Energise.Play.," (2006). pp. 4-5.

⁴⁶ Ibid. pp. 6-7.

⁴⁷ Regional Tourism Organisation for Ruapehu District, "Ruapehu: The Official Visitors Guide 2006," (2006).p.7.



Figure 145 Publicity Material from Mt Ruapehu

The representation of Mt Ruapehu as a separate site is reinforced by publicity material produced by Ruapehu Alpine Lifts, the concessionaires of the ski fields, and disseminated through postcards, brochures and the web site www.MtRuapehu.com. These representations, some of which are shown in Figure 145, continue the historic emphasis on skiing and active recreation. Similar to the early twentieth century railway posters, the representations feature a flying skier superimposed against a scenic mountainous backdrop.



The Grand Chateau



The Grand Chateau Mt Ruapehu New Zealand

Figure 146 Postcards of Chateau Tongariro

Postcards of the luxury Chateau Tongariro, shown in Figure 146, replicate the familiar picturesque construction that dominated early images. The Chateau remains framed as a luxurious respite from the unpredictable mountainous landscape. A 2007 publicity brochure states, 'Before you, an active volcano looms, dramatic in its beauty. Inside, roaring log fires, the glow of grand chandeliers, sublime cuisine and spectacular mountain views await.'⁴⁸ In an echo of the original prospectus, the park is still promoted as 'a stunning

⁴⁸ Bayview Chateau Tongariro, "Bayview Chateau Tongariro," (2007).

natural playground' featuring '[s]now-covered slopes, arid badlands, crater and alpine lakes, sparkling rivers, breath-taking lunar landscapes, lush rainforest and alpine meadows.'⁴⁹

Twenty-first century representations of Tongariro National Park continue to cultivate this image of a heterotopic wonderland. As in James Cowan's 1927 guidebook, which presents the park as a 'catalogue of all New Zealand's landscapes,'⁵⁰ the park is portrayed as a place of variety and contrasts, or as the Department of Conservation's website describes it, a 'place of extremes and surprises, a place to explore and remember.'⁵¹ The diversity of landscape and recreational opportunities is stressed in influential global guide books such as Lonely Planet and The Rough Guide. The 2007 Rough Guide states:

Within the boundaries of the park is some of the North island's most striking scenery—semi-arid plains, crystal clear lakes and streams, fumaroles, virgin rainforest, an abundance of ice and snow—and two supremely rewarding tramps, the one-day Tongariro Crossing and the three-four-day Tongariro Northern Circuit, one of New Zealand's Great Walks.⁵²

Review of postcards also reveals the presence of 'new' images to further extend the representation of the park as nature's wonderland: the panoramic 'wilderness' image.

The Wilderness Image

Aided by aerial photography and wide-angle lenses, a new series of images depicting the volcanic landscape of Tongariro as vast and powerful nature is evident. Significantly, these images are presented from above, rarely from eye level, a perspective that not only captures a broader sweep of the landscape but also constructs an image of a powerful and awe-inspiring nature. Given the size of these images, these representations are showcased in foldout postcards, a sample of which is shown in Figure 147. Adrian Franklin in his analysis of wilderness photography argues that these images create 'a sociology of the sacred rather than any form of realism' inviting the visitor to experience the real thing.⁵³ Unlike the active recreation of Mt Ruapehu, these expansive images show no evidence of human interaction, presenting instead a land before Maori or European occupation. As Franklin observes '[h]umanity is expunged from view creating a sense of purity and

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Tongariro Park Tourist Company, "Prospectus of the Tongariro Park Company Limited," (1929). p.10.

⁵¹ www.doc.govt.nz/templates/PlaceProfile

⁵² Laura Harper, Tony Mudd, and Paul Whitfield, *The Rough Guide to New Zealand* (London: Rough Guides, 2000).p.307.

⁵³ Adrian Franklin, "The Humanity of Wilderness Photography?," *Australian Humanities Review* Eco-humanities Corner, no. 28 (2006).p.2.

timeless order.⁵⁴ Wilderness is presented as a place where visitors are at the mercy of the power of nature.



Figure 147 Wilderness panorama (Kahu publishing 2005)

These images are supported by descriptions in tourist brochures that reinforce the romantic and inspiring encounter offered by wilderness. The 2006 Ruapehu Official Visitor's Guide describes the 'awesome power of nature' [the mountains] that 'command love and respect from all who walk in their shadow.'⁵⁵ Postcards featuring the volatile and unstable volcanoes further this representation of a powerful and unpredictable nature. Extending past their late nineteenth century depictions as curios, oddities and 'geyserland,' these representations of the active peaks, shown in Figure 148, offer tourists images of the landscape that most will never experience, capturing the power of the moment, freezing a dynamic process as artefact.

⁵⁴ Ibid.p.2.

⁵⁵ Regional Tourism Organisation for Ruapehu District, "Ruapehu: The Official Visitors Guide 2006."p.9.



Figure 148 Postcards that capture a 'dynamic' moment of volcanic activity

These representations in postcards and regional guides combine to ensure the persistence of early twentieth century representations of Tongariro. Despite the increasing cultural tourism market of Rotorua, located only 90 minutes north of the park, none of the postcards offer any acknowledgement of the park as a Maori cultural landscape. This absence would not be acceptable to the traditional owners of Uluru-Kata Tjuta, where retrospective legislation aggressively controls the park's imaging. However as I examine in the following section, a surprising number of postcards and souvenirs remain at odds with post-hand back aspirations.

Good Tourist, Bad Tourist

Following hand back, representations of Uluru within the tourist industry and media have become increasingly restrictive and controlled. Despite introducing arguably one of the most aggressive attempts to control the representation of a landscape, including retrospective legislation, a dichotomy of tourist representations is evident in postcards and souvenirs that reflect pre- and post-hand back values.⁵⁶ This juxtaposition of 'good' and 'bad' tourist representations mirrors the dichotomy of the park infrastructure which similarly presents a 'new' interpretive layer of Anangu cultural values overlaid on an historic infrastructure of roads and viewing points. Consequently, while major changes are evident in the content of bus tour commentaries, park brochures, guidebooks and in-situ interpretation, the most popular and cheapest tourist representations remain the last to be altered.

The aggressive attempts to control the imaging of Uluru for commercial purposes have attracted much controversy. Efforts to republish the children's book *Bromley Climbs Uluru* in

⁵⁶ Up to 40% of Uluru and Kata Tjuta are considered off limits to commercial photography including the sun rise viewing area at Uluru, the Uluru climb, the Uluru summit, the Valley of the Winds and photos of Kata Tjuta featuring less than three domes. Commercial photographers are required to fill in 14 page application, waiting up to 56 days for approval. This legislation has been accompanied by the employment of two people to act as gate keepers to manage permits as well as tracing images within media.

2003, ten years after its first publication in 1993, almost became a government test case for new copyright laws. Central to the debate was the use of an image of a teddy bear (Bromley) on the summit of Uluru for the cover of the book. This story received extensive media coverage and resurfaced arguments common at the time of hand back over who owns a national icon. One letter to the editor stated:

All Australians should be able to enjoy Uluru. Since when did its "possession" and the rules surrounding its marketing and use become the exclusive domain of the Aboriginal people?⁵⁷

In the same newspaper, member of the Uluru board Simon Balderstone stated in his letter:

The position of the authors of *Bromley Climbs Uluru* is akin to someone going into some else's front yard, finding their personal religious shrine, putting their soft toy on it and selling the photos – then telling the owners they were being "politically correct" when they complained.⁵⁸

Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort has also claimed the regulations amount to censorship, and hinder the ability to promote tourism through books, postcards and brochures.⁵⁹ Despite the retrospective laws, a visit to Uluru in 2005 revealed a surprising range of postcard representations, half of which de-emphasise climbing of the rock, while others, produced by the same company, encourage it.

To climb or not to climb?

Twenty-five years after hand back, postcards and souvenirs sold in the newsagents and tourist shops of Voyages-Ayers Rock Resort indicate an extremely confusing message being promoted to tourists. One group of souvenirs—a set of climbing certificates, badges and post cards—encourages the climbing of the rock, often maintaining the pre-hand back name of Ayers Rock. An alternative set presents post-hand back values in the form of 'I did not climb Uluru' stickers, certificates and postcards, as well as material that recognises Anangu status as traditional owners.

Figure 149 shows the 'walkers' versus the 'climbers' certificates available for purchase. The walker certificate, aligned with park values, includes a range of 'non-climbing' activities. The climber's certificate reveals that tourists can elect to 'not climb' and includes a tick box to say 'they did not climb out of respect for the wishes of Anangu.' The array of stickers,

⁵⁷ Chris Prunty, "Letter to the Editor," *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, March 2003.

⁵⁸ Simon Balderstone, "Letters," *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, March 22-23 2003.

⁵⁹ Cameron Stewart, "Rock Rage: How This Monolith Disappeared from Public View," *The Australian*, 9-10 August 2003. p.21.

badges and postcards do not include this subtlety. Tourists can elect to buy postcards, stickers and badges according to ‘pre-’ or ‘post-’ hand back values.

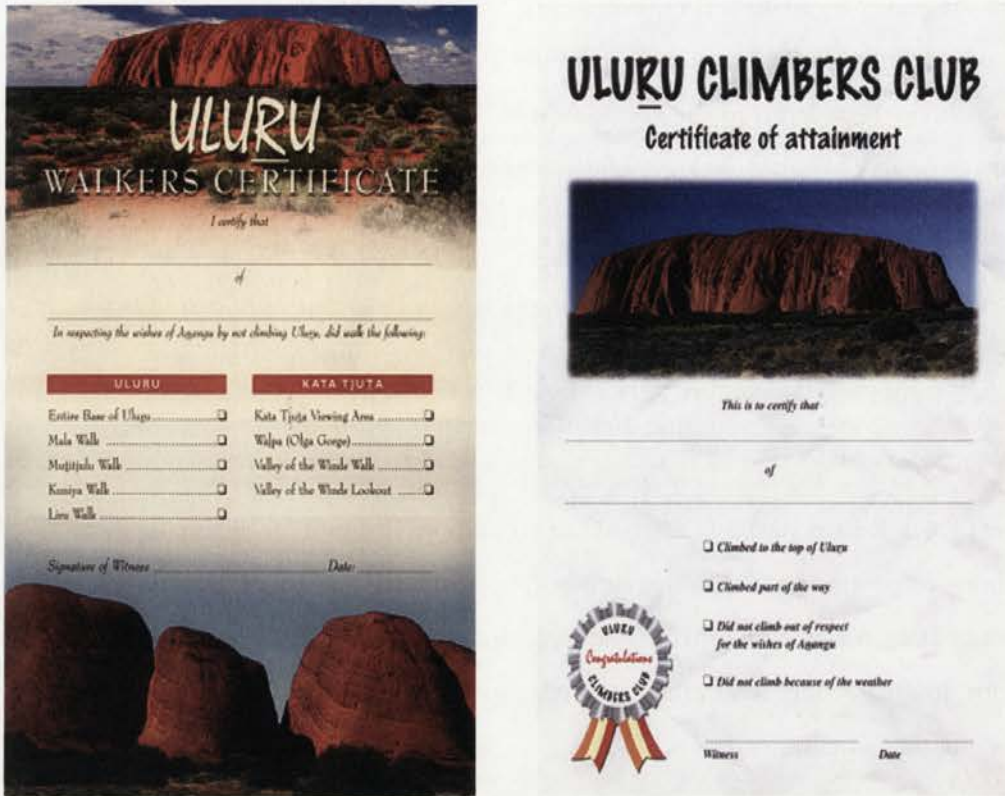


Figure 149 The ‘new’ Walkers Certificate and the current Climbers Certificate

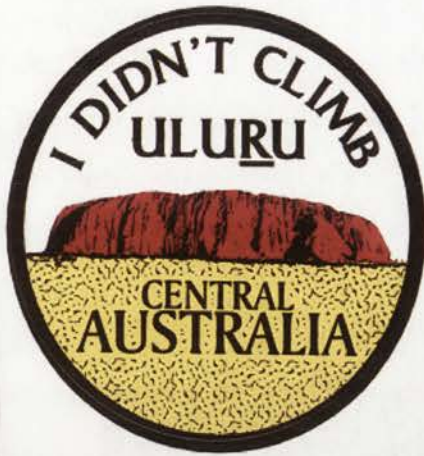


Figure 150 I’ve Climbed and I Didn’t Climb badges produced by Barker Souvenirs

Barker Souvenirs
Made in Australia



9 317939 000997



Barker Souvenirs
Made in Australia



9 317939 000997



Figure 151 I've Climbed or Didn't Climb stickers produced by Barker Souvenirs

Interestingly, the climbing souvenirs often revert back to the pre-hand back name of Ayers Rock or Mt Olga as evident in the climbing series of postcards shown in Figure 152, suggesting a fairly deep-seated resistance to the revision of the park's identity.

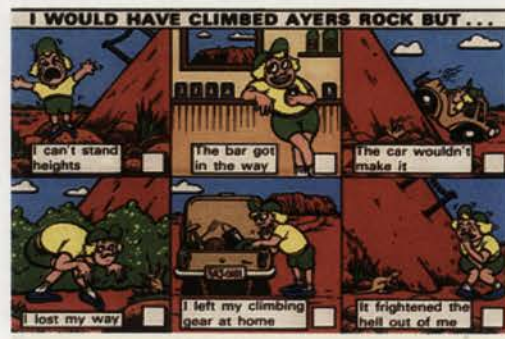
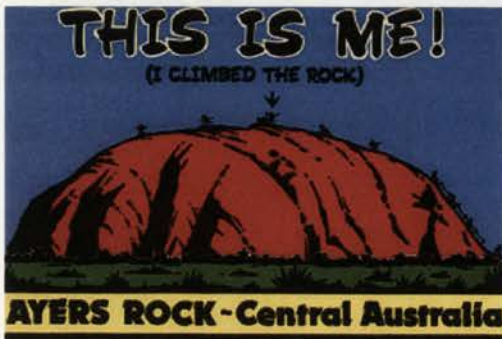
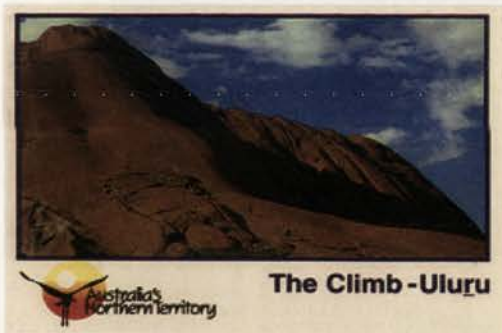


Figure 152 Climbing postcards of 'Ayers Rock'

A 'new' type of postcard aligned with post hand back values is also available. As shown in Figure 153 these postcards retain the iconic image of the rock, but adopt the post-hand back name of Uluru while also articulating respectful tourist behaviour. By 2006, the

number of 'inappropriate' postcards was visibly reduced. However in the context of the retrospective legislation it is surprising that park management did not target the cheapest and most prolific tourist images of postcards for reform. In 2003 park management pursued German film director Wim Wender's exhibition *Pictures from the Surface of the Earth*, on display at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Sydney, because it included an image of the Valley of the Winds at Kata Tjuta. Although taken in 1988, the retrospective clause in the new guidelines required the submission of all commercial images for approval.⁶⁰ Following the removal of the image from the exhibit, Wenders sent a written apology to the traditional owners, thereby avoiding fines of up to \$55,000.

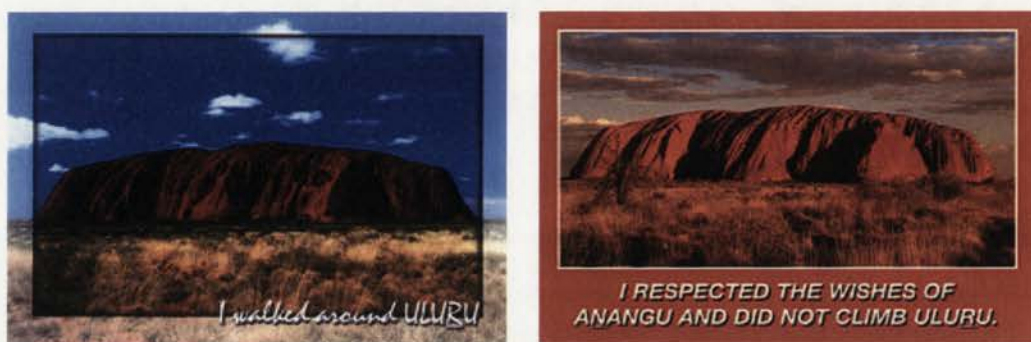


Figure 153 'New' postcards respecting the wishes of Anangu

With the exception of the postcards, tourist material produced outside the control of park management has in general shifted to reflect post-hand back values. Influential guidebooks such as Lonely Planet include a sidebar in the text, 'A question of climbing,' which outlines the reasons for not climbing and also recommends that tourists visit the cultural centre before they make a decision about climbing the rock.⁶¹ The national park website also reinforces the agendas of the management plan, beginning with a 'Welcome to Aboriginal land' and providing extensive information on the park as a cultural landscape.⁶² Control of the imaging of Uluru for commercial purposes is an on-going dispute, with Uluru often appearing in the background of advertising for non-related products ranging from ice cream to air-conditioning. This tension reflects the enduring power of Uluru as both a national and global icon, a status I explore next in relation to government branding strategies.

⁶⁰ See Ross Barnett, "Museum Backs Down...And Steps into New Wenders Photo Row," *The Australian*, Tuesday, August 5 2003, Ross Barnett, "The Photo Artist Should Never Have Taken," *The Australian*, August 2-3 2003.

⁶¹ Lonely Planet, *Northern Territory and Central Australia*, 4th ed. (Lonely Planet Publication Pty Ltd, 2006).p.245.

⁶² www.environment.gov.au/parks/uluru/

Global Branding

Since the early twentieth century, Uluru and Tongariro have been implicated in the national branding of Australia and New Zealand respectively. Review of early twenty-first century campaigns reveals a shift in the representation of both national parks. Uluru-Kata Tjuta is central to both Northern Territory and Australian tourist strategies aimed at attracting 'the experience seeker.' Tongariro, while pivotal to Tourism New Zealand's global campaign of 100% Pure New Zealand, also became implicated in the global re-branding of New Zealand as Tolkien's Middle Earth, following the filming in New Zealand of the trilogy *Lord of the Rings*. While the concept of 'experience seeker' that aims to have tourists slow down and engage with the landscape of Uluru-Kata Tjuta, is clearly consistent with the park's values, the absorption of Tongariro into an international campaign based on filmic tourism, premised on being 'another place,' is questionably aligned with its management plan.

Unlike larger countries such as Australia and Canada, the small geographic scale of New Zealand encourages 'a whole of country' approach to marketing tourism.⁶³ The New Zealand government quickly capitalised on New Zealand's potential global exposure following Peter Jackson's decision to film the *Lord of the Rings* Trilogy in New Zealand, beginning with the appointment of a 'Minister of the Rings.'⁶⁴ Tourism spin-offs included 'making of the film' documentaries screened on National Geographic channel as well as additional attention following the film's success at the Academy Awards (winning four in 2001, six nominations in 2002 and 11 in 2003). The prominence of the New Zealand landscape in the films created a powerful medium for destination tourism, leading to the establishment of what has become known as the Frodo economy.⁶⁵

Tongariro as Middle Earth

Although its management plan states that Tongariro National Park may only be used for commercial filming if the product reinforces the values of the park, Peter Jackson's team was given permission to shoot scenes from all three trilogies in the park. The volcanic landscape was used to film the most sinister of *The Lord of the Rings* locales, Mordor, the 'inhospitable and barren part of Middle-earth,' the stronghold of the dark lord Sauron and

⁶³ Rachel Piggott, Nigel Morgan, and Annette Pritchard, "New Zealand and the Lord of the Rings: Leveraging Public and Media Relations," in *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, ed. Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2002). pp. 211-212.

⁶⁴ Sue Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism* (Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2005). p.81

⁶⁵ The New Zealand Tourist Board estimated that exposure of New Zealand from the first film was worth over US \$41,925,538.

the only place where the ring can be destroyed.⁶⁶ Filming included the battle marking the end of the Second Age of Middle Earth on the Whakapapa Ski Field, scenes of Ithilien and Mordor on the Turoa Ski Fields, and the recasting of the sacred peaks of Mt Ruapehu as Mt Doom.⁶⁷ In an important distinction from destination tourism based on experiencing the 'real' landscape depicted in film or television, Lord of the Rings involved significant digital enhancement of landscape scenes. A further criterion for filming was that all sites be returned to their pre-filming condition. The resultant destination tourism was therefore premised on a paradox: a desire to visit 'authentic' sites that should no longer bear any resemblance to their imaging within the film.

The marketing of New Zealand (including Tongariro) as Tolkien's Middle Earth depended on the merging of the virtual with the physical. This ambiguous state between real and imagined is well demonstrated by an Air New Zealand campaign which promoted itself as 'Airline to Middle Earth.' Advertisements stated 'The movie is fictional. The location isn't. Middle Earth is New Zealand.'⁶⁸ Tourist material was recast to overlay the 'physical' space of New Zealand with Tolkien's Middle Earth. Tourism New Zealand's interactive website included a new map of 'Middle Earth' superimposed over a New Zealand map (Figure 155). This collision of imagined and physical space produced a new landscape of consumption. As cultural theorist Thierry Jutel observed:

Aotearoa as Middle Earth constitutes the latest development in the production of space. It virtualises the geography of the country in the ways in which the convergence of narrative, digital effects, miniatures, promotion, marketing and the constant assertion that it is Middle Earth invoke a becoming other.⁶⁹



Figure 154 Tourist New Zealand web site featuring scenes from Lord of the Rings shot in Tongariro National Park

⁶⁶ Ian Brodie, *The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook* (Auckland: Harper Collins, 2002).p.33.

⁶⁷ Ibid. pp. 33-34.

⁶⁸ Tourism New Zealand ran advertisements following the academy awards depicting a scenic shot of New Zealand and a clapper board with the caption 'best supporting country in a motion picture.' A further advertisement was captioned 'Two years to film the Trilogy. Millions of years to build the set.'

⁶⁹ Jutel, "Lord of the Rings: Landscape, Transformation, and the Geography of the Virtual." p. 64.



Figure 155 Tourist New Zealand web site reinventing New Zealand as Middle Earth. The representation features Mt Ruapehu and Mt Ngauruhoe

Figure 156 Lord of the Rings Tours featuring Tongariro National Park

Tongariro's proximity to Wellington and Auckland attracts many tourists for filmic tourism. Finding the sites that now bear limited resemblance to the film locations is

difficult. Guidance is available: a self-guided tour informed by Ian Brodies' *The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook* describes all the places used for filming and comes complete with GPS co-ordinates.⁷⁰ Guided tours to sites are also available, for example an all day Lord of the Rings Tour in Tongariro National Park is available for \$225.00. The brochure, shown in Figure 156, encourages visitors to:

Walk under MT DOOM and stroll through ORC COUNTRY. See MORDOR the strong hold of the DARK LORD SAURON. Visit ITHILIEN CAMP with beautiful waterfalls and beech forests. Walk through cliffs and ravines of EMYN MUIL, the ORC ROAD and ENCAMPMENT. See the DOOR OF SAMMATH NAUR, BARREN WASTELANDS, and SEA of BOULDERS.⁷¹

National Authenticity and a Prehistoric Landscape

According to Jones and Smith, the aggressive government re-branding of New Zealand as Middle Earth and the subsequent claims of New Zealand as the 'world's film studio' represents far more than simply a grab for tourist dollars. They argue that this government driven re-branding recast New Zealand's national identity as a place of 'creative entrepreneurialism'.⁷² Constructions of landscape are central to this creativity, not for authenticity but for their potential for re-invention. This new construction is premised on a new national image of creativity, situated within a landscape of what Jutel describes as 'interchangeable otherness'.⁷³ Jones and Smith in their analysis of the impact of Lord of the Rings highlight this tension between creativity and re-invention, arguing:

Between the 'new' creative New Zealand, a sophisticated skilful nation with its own culture and ability to produce world-beating film making and special effects; and, on the other hand, New Zealand as a pure and pre-historical place where an imaginary Middle-Earth (and by implication any movie world) can be placed, a 100 per cent pure destination that tourists still want to visit.⁷⁴

Again mirroring the environmental displays at Te Papa, representations of New Zealand as part of this 'new' national identity and global branding favour a pre-settlement environment. Tongariro's absorption into this framing establishes a further paradox for what is supposedly a cultural landscape, where, in the absence of any engagement with its Maori values, tourists are more likely to understand the landscape as part of Tolkien's imagined world of Middle Earth than gain any understanding of its significance in the very real world of the Maori. As noted earlier, one of the rare 'cultural tours' of the park features

⁷⁰ Brodie, *The Lord of the Rings Location Guidebook*.

⁷¹ Brochure from Forest Lodge www.forest-lodge.co.nz

⁷² Jones and Smith, "Middle-Earth Meets New Zealand: Authenticity and Location in the Making of the Lord of the Rings." p. 939.

⁷³ Jutel, "Lord of the Rings: Landscape, Transformation, and the Geography of the Virtual." p.60.

⁷⁴ Jones and Smith, "Middle-Earth Meets New Zealand: Authenticity and Location in the Making of the Lord of the Rings." p. 941.

the Lord of the Rings, while one of the few in-situ ‘cultural’ interpretation panels also depicts the Lord of the Rings (Figure 157).



Figure 157 Filming location sign near the Whakapapa Skifields [ap]

Uluru and the ‘Experience Seeker’

Australian government branding strategies that incorporate Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, although still featuring the iconic image of Uluru, emphasise experience and Aboriginal culture, perspectives that are clearly aligned with park values. Uluru-Kata Tjuta forms an integral part of the Northern Territory Commission and Tourism Australia advertising campaigns. Unlike earlier strategies that framed Uluru as a visual spectacle, these campaigns aim to attract tourists who want to stay longer and ‘seek experiences,’ a position aligned with post-hand park management values. Increasingly however an alternative type of ‘experience seeker’ whose motives are less respectful of the traditional owners is also increasingly attracted to the park. No longer limited to a place of ‘national’ pilgrimage, Uluru now forms part of a global network of spiritual sites, and is considered a site for secular pilgrimage particularly for ‘new age followers.’ Evidence suggests that these visitors do not respect the values of the traditional owners, and instead impose their own spiritual agendas and project their own meaning onto the landscape. Such practices point to the difficulties of ‘controlling’ the understanding of a site that now has global significance, and where, divorced from its context, the importance of its cultural and physical specificity is reduced to personal significance.

In 2005 the Northern Territory Commission proposed the tourism strategy *Share our Story*, which emerged from research that established that travellers to the Northern Territory resisted typecasting as either international or domestic and instead shared ‘a state of mind rather than a geographical location.’⁷⁵ The strategy targeted ‘experience seekers’ who, according to market research, stay longer in places and also seek ‘difference.’ Share our Stories advertisements featured the iconic image of Uluru superimposed with the phrase ‘...this landscape changes every day, I see new things all the time...,’ a quote from Shane Wright, an Aboriginal ranger. Significantly the advertisement, shown in Figure 158, depicts Uluru during rain, which, combined with Wright’s quote, constructs a more complex and dynamic representation of the landscape than the dominant historic representation of the rock as static artefact. This perspective was developed by another phrase from Wright:

You can see a painting or a photograph but nothing prepares you for the first time you see Uluru. Everyone goes away with something special and great memories. It brings you back to the basics.⁷⁶

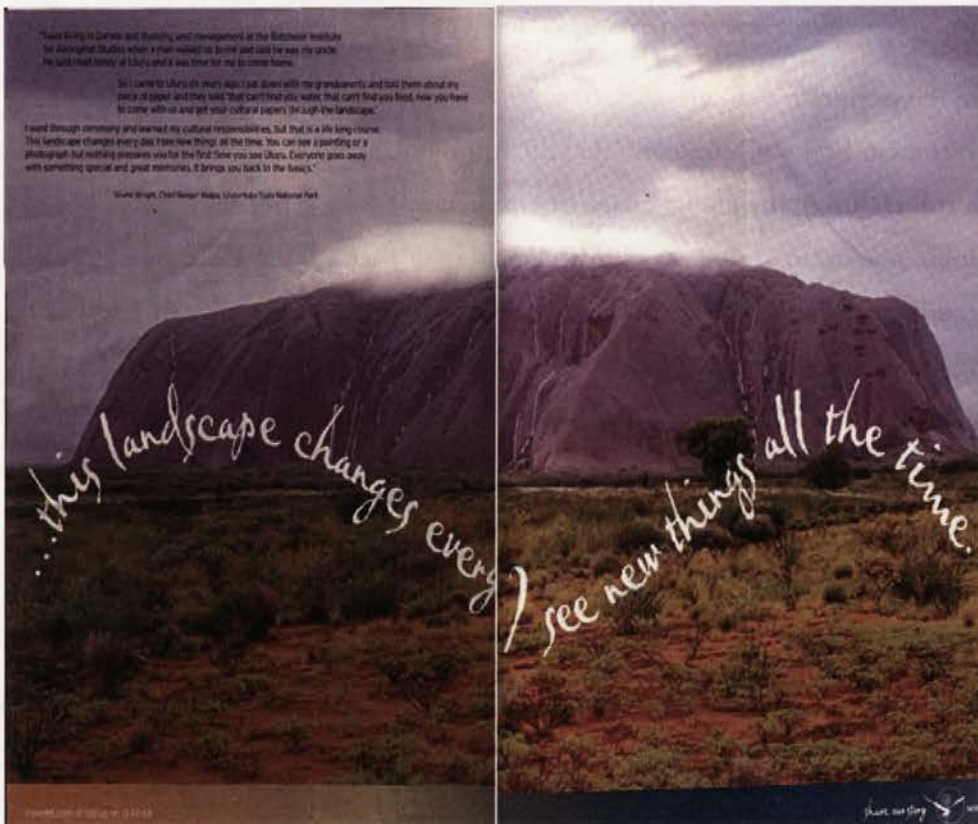


Figure 158 Uluru presented as part of Share our Story branding 2005

⁷⁵ Northern Territory Tourism Commission, "Share Our Story -Share Our Territory," in *Media Release* (Darwin: 2005).

⁷⁶ Shane Wright, "...This Landscape Changes Everything, I See New Things All the Time..." *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, June 18-19 2005.

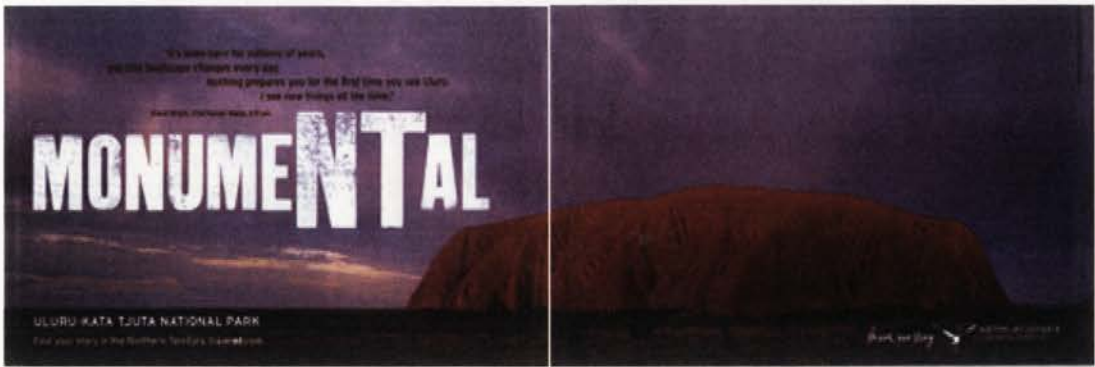


Figure 159 Uluru as part of Spiritual Traveller branding 2006

The advertisement presents the landscape as an evolving complex experience that not only targets the ‘experience’ seeker but also reinforces the values of park management. The incorporation of Wright’s words, with Wright himself clearly identified as an ‘Aboriginal ranger,’ emphasises the landscape as an Aboriginal national park. Subsequent advertisements combined a focus on the ‘Spirited Traveller’ with the Northern Territory through a clever play on words. Advertisements featured ‘adveNTure,’ iNTrepid, ‘iNTimate and ‘vibraNT,’ with Uluru included under the title ‘monumeNTal.’ While reinforcing the early twentieth century image of Uluru as a monumental icon, this advertisement, shown in Figure 159 again uses the words of ranger Shane Wright, this time stating ‘It’s been here for millions of years, yet this landscape changes every day. Nothing prepares you for the first time you see Uluru. I see new things every time.’

The strategy of promoting Uluru as ‘experience’ rather than ‘visual icon’ continued in the 2006 Tourism Australia Strategy, ‘A Uniquely Australian Invitation,’ which aimed to ‘showcase the different and involving experiences on offer in Australia and invites people to take action.’⁷⁷ Featuring Australia’s well known tourist icons such as the Sydney Harbour Bridge, Uluru and the Great Barrier Reef, this strategy challenged the ‘iconic based promotion’ of the past to instead ‘harness the value of the icons by displaying them as compelling experiences.’⁷⁸ An ‘irreverent and charming tone’ was proposed, with the campaign emerging as the ‘Where the bloody hell are you?’ advertisements. The Sounds of Silence Tour was used to represent Uluru, which, as discussed in Chapter Seven, involved a fine dining experience in the desert landscape.

⁷⁷Tourism Australia, "A Uniquely Australian Invitation:Strategy & Execution," (2006).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Although all of these advertisements still feature the 'iconic' full image of Uluru, first captured by Baldwin Spencer over a century ago, both the Northern Territory and National Tourism Strategies extend the representation past that of monumental artefact to suggest a more engaging experience with the desert landscape. Yet despite this new twenty-first century appreciation of the national park and its traditional owners, there has emerged a new demand from 'spiritual travellers' who pay scant attention to this publicity but who offer potentially less respect to the traditional owners.

New Age Pilgrimage

In a significant shift away from the early twentieth century trend where a visit to Ayers Rock formed part of a national pilgrimage to experience the 'real' Australia, Uluru now forms part of a global network of spiritual sites, perceived as a place for the 'modern secular pilgrimage' typically associated with the New Age movement.⁷⁹ With an emphasis on the transformation of self through meaningful experiences, the New Age movement is attracted to sites with significance to indigenous people. Uluru is featured in the Sacred Destinations Travel Guide, 'an ecumenical online catalogue of more than 1,200 sacred sites, holy places, pilgrimage destinations, historical religious sites, places of worship, sacred art and religious architecture in 53 countries.'⁸⁰ As a result Uluru attracts an international audience who brings its own spiritual agendas to shape the experience of and encounter with the park. Many of these visitors perform personal rituals that are in direct conflict with the values of the traditional owners and park management objectives.

Emerging in the 1960s and 70s, New Age beliefs are premised on a search for meaningful 'spiritual' experiences combined with introspection. This personal agenda frequently conflicts with the beliefs and traditions of traditional owners of sacred sites. As Digance observes, pilgrims want to 'tap into this spirituality, sacredness, and tradition' of indigenous sites 'but without the confines existing within those traditions.'⁸¹ Many New Age pilgrims wish to incorporate Uluru into their own rituals and cosmology, often at the expense of park rules. Some try and camp overnight in the park, often to access Anangu sacred sites and conduct their own rituals.⁸² In 1985 the Mutitjulu community received a request from the Harmonic Convergence, a group of cosmic believers, to stage an international event to access forces of the planet. As Barry Hill described it, they wanted to—

⁷⁹ Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites." p. 144.

⁸⁰ www.sacred-destinations.com/world.htm

⁸¹ Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites." p. 149.

⁸² Ibid. p. 153

...lay down their bodies in circular formation, heads towards a fire, feet outward, gazing skyward. They would surrender control to the Earth, allowing the forces of Life to use them as channels for the purification of the planet... This would happen at key planetary points such as the Kings Chamber of the great Pyramid, Diamond Head in Hawaii, as well as, they hoped, Ayers Rock.⁸³

Others engage with the site in less confrontational ways, and rangers report 'unusual activities' including dawn meditations at various sites, as well as finding crystals, flowers, rice, boar tusks and small crucifixes around the rock.⁸⁴ Many of the visitors who continue to climb the rock do so in pursuit of a spiritual connection to the site.⁸⁵ For example one climber reported,

I actually climbed the rock and I know that the Aborigines don't want you to. Really unclear as to why, because when I climbed it, I felt more of the spirituality climbing it than I think looking at it you see the wonder. But climbing it, it's really quite a strenuous climb. But then there's these undulating curves up the top, and it's so majestic that I think you feel the spirituality in climbing it, and so I'm really glad I did, a touch guilty, but glad I did.⁸⁶

These aspirations suggest that despite the management plan intentions to recast the park as an Anangu cultural landscape, the landscape itself remains a site open to individual meaning. Jacobs and Gelder describe Uluru as a 'promiscuous sacred site,'⁸⁷ observing that 'despite the efforts to reinstate some level of Aboriginal exclusivity, [Uluru] is opened up by the force of the uncontainable "love" of the many others who visit it, are touched by it, or take it up into their idiosyncratic geographies of significance.'⁸⁸ This has extended to Uluru becoming a national Aboriginal space, as distinct from an Anangu space. Historian Ann McGrath observes:

Pan-Australian myths are growing, with many northern Aborigines subscribing to a belief that all the dreaming tracks around Australia meet up at Uluru. It is unlikely that this belief existed prior to white contact, with bitumen roads now said to be ancestral paths, but the Dreaming has never been a static story; it has always evolved, and been informed by the present. Uluru as pan-Aboriginal sacred site is, therefore, an important example of cultural convergence between Aborigines and white Australians.⁸⁹

This raises questions over the assumed ability of anyone, government or Anangu, to control the imaging and meaning of what is now an internationally iconic landscape. The repositioning of Uluru is no longer confined to the re-alignment with 'national' but instead with global values. While there is certainly evidence of major changes in the construction of

⁸³ Barry Hill, *The Rock: Travelling to Uluru* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994). p. 270.

⁸⁴ Digance, "Pilgrimage at Contested Sites." p. 154.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 152.

⁸⁶ Interview Eva Marie Madazick: National, ABC Radio. "The Spirit of Things Australia's Sacred Sites Part 1 the Old Country Is Here - Aboriginal Inheritance and Uluru/Kata Tjuta." 2002.

⁸⁷ Gelder and Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia*. p. 115.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 123.

⁸⁹ Ann McGrath, "Travels to a Distant Past: The Mythology of the Outback," *Australian Cultural History* 10 (1991).p.116.

tourist industry representations (notwithstanding postcards and climbing souvenirs) and government branding strategies to reflect park values, controlling 'meaning' is more elusive, with the iconic landscape continuing to operate as a site for personal projection. Unlike a museum, where a new representation is a matter of developing a new exhibition, the iconic landscapes of Uluru will continue to inspire different meanings for different people, regardless of political motivations to recast the park as a site for Anangu economic and cultural recovery. As one tourist study concluded, 'visitors prefer to see Uluru as a blank canvas' with Anangu understandings undermining 'their desires to project their meanings on the rock.'⁹⁰

Likewise the iconic landscape of Tongariro remains a site of projection. However in the case of Tongariro it is government and not just individuals who propagate an ambiguity of meaning. Whether as part of the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign or the re-branding of Tongariro as Tolkien's Mordor, Tongariro National Park remains framed as an 'ahistorical' environment in order to maximise its ability to be reconfigured to take advantage of economic opportunity. Combined with the tourist representations of the park as a 'heterotopic wonderland,' the landscape of Tongariro National Park continues to be presented as a twenty-first century wonderland that offers something for everyone whether they be a skier or part of the international film industry.

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Two contrasting tourist constructions have emerged out of recent efforts to revise the national park. As expected, the content of the cultural-visitor centres is aligned with the management plans. Whakapapa Visitor Centre, in keeping with its origins in the American national park visitor centre, retains its focus on 'information', featuring vignettes of natural and cultural information. By positioning the Maori cultural connections as only one part of the story of the park, and by further reducing that part of the story to the act of gifting the park, the significance to Maori is confined to a romantic episode in 'prehistory.' In effect this frees the park to position itself as part of a bigger story of the national park as a recreational and volcanic showcase. The alternative strategy, seen in the Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre, prioritises the park's cultural significance, and aligns subsequent development with its post-hand back aspirations. But in spite of showcasing Anangu cultural perspectives of landscape and providing areas for performance and the sale of

⁹⁰ Baker, "Interpreting Heritage within the Contested Landscape of Uluru."

Aboriginal art, the Centre does not succeed in operating as a zone of ‘meaningful contact,’ and the Anangu are present only through representation rather than occupation.

I have argued that this is the result of a flawed assumption that formed part of the hand back, which relied on education to ‘re-write’ the park experience. Review of tourist representations of Uluru-Kata Tjuta challenges this assumption, and demonstrates that despite changes in the construction of tourist industry representations, the education strategy is not sufficient to override the external influences that are now driving the tourist experience of Uluru. As part of a global network of spiritual sites, Uluru now has a significance that operates far outside the cultural values of the traditional owners and the park management structure. The landscape has become a site onto which personal meaning is projected, and which exists parallel to but entirely independent of the in-situ interpretive strategies, tour guide narrations and exhibitions presented in the cultural centre. Tongariro National Park is in a similar situation, but unlike Uluru, Tongariro is subjected to these projections from official as well as private sources.

Conclusion

Discussions of the 1970s overwhelmingly focus on the subsequent 'cultural' revisions that emerged from the political and legislative changes of the period, namely the formal adoption of new national identities of multiculturalism and biculturalism and the repositioning of indigenous people, legally and conceptually, within the nation. As this study has shown, these cultural revisions have had profound and continuing impacts on the physical development of national space. In the case of New Zealand these new readings of environment, nation and landscape remained political and theoretical, divorced from the display practices in museums and the interpretation and management strategies of national parks. The ambitions of the Australian museum and national park were likewise comprehensively re-written as cultural institutions, but the translation into practice was achieved in some degree. The significance of this study lies in its examination of the translation of discourse into practice. While this study is hardly the first to examine the substantial rewritings that unfolded during the 1970s, it *is* the first to take the logical next step to examine the extent to which these revisions have changed the way we present ourselves and our environment and landscape in museums and national parks.

This study proposed a situated analysis of the museum and the national park, contextualising the evolution of these spaces and their associated practices against their particular histories of settlement and development. Studies focusing exclusively on the cultural, political and legal changes of the period have tended to gloss over the prior conceptualisations and to interpret the changes in the 1970s in terms of replacement rather than layering and incorporation. To avoid this fallacy, this study adopted a three-part mixed-method research strategy that encompassed historical analysis, textual analysis and spatial analysis. This multi-disciplinary research has not only exposed significant differences in how these revisions originating in the 1970s manifest in the physical spaces of the four sites but has also revealed the persistence of enduring colonial framings in shaping post-colonial spaces of the museum and national park. This study has demonstrated that two colonial narratives continue to influence the conceptualisation of these spaces: the distinctive temporal relationship between indigenous people and nation, and in the case of New Zealand a 'fluid' construction of landscape.

Enduring Colonial Framings: Temporality and the Settler Society

The interrogation of temporality and the settler society was critical to this study, and it uncovered significant differences in the temporal relationships between indigenous people and nation in Australia and New Zealand. This relationship, which has been discussed in museum studies particularly in regard to the introduction of evolutionary science into the museum, has not previously been explored in relation to the national park. This exploration has revealed two important issues. The first is the difficulty in reconciling the temporal separations that had been set up. In the case of Aboriginal people this meant attempting to reconnect them with settler history and in the case of Maori untangling their culture from the construction of the New Zealand nation. The second issue that emerged, particularly for New Zealand, was concern over the rate and extent of environmental modification and the difficulty of reconciling the evidence of 'irreparable harm' with a self-perception that sought to express respect for indigenous people and the shared environment.

Chapters One and Two established that both the museums and national parks in Australia and New Zealand expressed a distinctive colonial temporality. In Australia, Aboriginal people were positioned *without* any 'distinctive temporality,' creating what Bennett described as an unprecedented leap between the 'time of the colonised and that of the coloniser.'¹ This gap was equally evident in the museum and in the national park. Representations of Aboriginal people in the International exhibitions of the 1890s, and the displays of Aboriginal culture in Spencer's museum, carefully delineated Aboriginal culture from European culture. Similarly, an experience of the desert wilderness of Ayers Rock as tightly interwoven with an encounter with Aboriginal Australia, created the unique but not incongruous distinction of a 'peopled' wilderness.' Aboriginal people, understood as being as ancient and primitive as the landscape itself, allowed the desert to be simultaneously prized as wilderness and occupied.

While the political and cultural revisions of the 1970s contributed to a new framing of Aboriginal culture within the museum that facilitated understanding of both a contemporary and an enduring occupation, on-going difficulties in reconciling the temporal disparities between European and Aboriginal culture are evident. As Chapter Five discusses, the environmental history display *Tangled Destinies* struggled to reconcile the disparate temporalities of indigenous, non-indigenous and deep time history within the one

¹ Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004). pp. 150-151.

exhibit. Research into tourist perceptions of the joint-managed parks of Kakadu and Uluru has also indicated that many consider an experience of the national parks as synonymous with Aboriginal people, perpetuating the colonial assumptions that Aboriginal people are ‘part of’ the landscape.

In New Zealand the situation was reversed, the difficulty lying with untangling Maori culture from national history. This absorption of Maori culture into nation was already evident by the early twentieth century, demonstrated by the Maori Hall in the Dominion Museum, and, as argued in this study, perpetuated by the ‘national marae’ Rongomaraeroa at Te Papa. Similarly, the depth and complexity of Maori cultural connections with Tongariro National Park was effectively eradicated by the focus on the gifting of the land, implying that the act of gifting handed over not only the management and ownership of the land but also any claims to spiritual and cultural significance. Just as the Maori Hall assimilated Maori culture into the New Zealand national story, the emphasis on the gift allowed the reinvention of the park as a national space of scenic and recreational wonder to be shared by all New Zealanders.

The compressed temporality combined with a discrete starting point for human settlement of New Zealand created a further temporal distinction. Unlike Australia, where Aboriginal settlement predates European settlement by some 60,000 years, the close settlement period of New Zealand—Maori and Pakeha settling within 1000 years of each other—created an identifiable moment from which to measure the impact of human settlement on the environment. As discussed in Chapter One, the rapid modification of the New Zealand environment had already become a concern for the museum by the early twentieth century. At the same time, however, a parallel landscape image emerged, based on an economics of tourism. This representation, propagated by a government-driven tourism industry, created a disjuncture between a landscape image predicated on superiority based on purity and the scientific reality of extensive modification, which as this study has argued had a major impact on the content of Te Papa’s opening-day exhibitions.

Ecological Modification versus Landscape Image

Prior to Te Papa, these two constructions of ‘environment’ and ‘landscape’ were not encountered simultaneously within the museum. During the 1970s the museum’s role as an active agent in the construction of identity was heightened, and this drove the shift in the representation of nature from environment (science) to landscape (identity). This

repositioning of the museum, combined with a desire and intention to present interwoven histories of people and environment, created conflict between a national landscape image increasingly premised upon purity, and the scientific realities of extensive and rapid ecological modification. This convergence was influential in Te Papa's decision not to pursue the environmental history exhibit, *Shaping the Land*. In contrast, the National Museum of Australia showcased both positive and negative environmental narratives, a difference in approach that I claim is attributable to the closer alignment between national landscape image and environmental realities. Te Papa's representation of an unmodified environment was paralleled by a celebration of the 'pristine' wilderness of Tongariro National Park, despite its achieving global recognition as a World Heritage *cultural* landscape. This landscape image of the pristine and the pure was disseminated internationally by Tourism New Zealand's first-ever global campaign, '100 per cent Pure New Zealand.'² Launched in 1999, contemporaneous with the opening of Te Papa, the campaign positioned landscape as New Zealand's 'brand essence,' and projected an image of New Zealand, its people, environment and experiences as 'untainted, unadulterated, unaffected and undiluted.'³

Together, Te Papa's displays of an unmodified environment, the propagation of Tongariro National Park as a pristine wilderness rather than a Maori cultural landscape, and the '100 per cent Pure New Zealand' branding strategy combined to present an 'ahistorical' framing of the New Zealand landscape. In this study, however, I have demonstrated that this framing was not evident in the museums and national parks of the late nineteenth century. Colonial exhibitions and museums in fact acknowledged the rapid rate of extinction of flora and fauna, while journalist James Cowan initially represented Tongariro as a Maori cultural landscape. The 'ahistorical' positioning of landscape is a much later phenomenon, emerging in the late twentieth century, and it shows no signs of abating as demonstrated by New Zealand's recent reinvention as Tolkien's Middle Earth. Underpinned by a government-driven re-branding of New Zealand's national identity as a place of 'creative entrepreneurialism,' this construction is not based on an authenticity of landscape but instead on its capacity for *re-invention*.

² Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard, and Rachel Piggott, "New Zealand, 100% Pure: The Creation of a Powerful Niche Destination Brand," *The Journal of Brand Management* 9, no. 4/5 (2002): p.4.

³ *Ibid.* p.7.

During the later part of the twentieth century, Australian museums and national parks were comprehensively 're-written', no longer scripted as spaces that delineated concepts of nature and culture but redefined as new representations of a cultural landscape. Both the museum and the national park shared this reinvention, which included the recognition of Aboriginal people as traditional owners and a new emphasis on a 'peopled' environment. This study's exploration of the translation of these new framings of landscape and environment into the form, space and experiences of the museum and national park has focused on the National Museum of Australia and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. However, as I discuss in the following section, this translation was not seamless.

Translation difficulties

The multi disciplinary approach used in this study provided a means for measuring, describing and critiquing the first attempts to bridge the separation between nature and culture, Aboriginal and nation, within physical form, space and experience. The theoretical revisions did not automatically instigate change. Instead, many practices originating *prior* to the 1970s continued to influence practice and operated alongside the revised theoretical and political agendas. Two major problems became evident. Within the museum, the disparate time frames of Aboriginal, settler and natural history were difficult to reconcile with one another, and the problem became even more intractable when coupled with the attempt to represent a nation that encompassed an entire continent. Within the national park the problem centred on the impossibility of recasting a globally iconic landscape into a site of economic and cultural recovery for Aboriginal people.

Reconciling Temporal Disparity and Disciplinary Parameters

Reconnecting people and environment was a primary objective of the National Museum of Australia. While earlier state precedents such as the National Museum of Victoria had developed ecological displays that presented the interconnectedness between flora, fauna and place, these displays were devoid of human interaction. Following the recommendations of the Pigott report, the National Museum of Australia aimed to 'mend several intellectual rifts' evident in older museums that 'tended to divorce Aboriginal man from European man and to divorce Europeans from Nature.'⁴ The intellectually-ambitious environmental history exhibit *Tangled Destinies* was promoted as an innovative multi-

⁴ P.H. Pigott, "Museums in Australia 1975: Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Collections Including the Report of the Planning Committee on the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia," (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975). p. 70.

disciplinary display that merged 'the scientific and cultural history of a continent in a way never attempted before in an Australian museum.'⁵ Analysis of the opening-day exhibition, however, revealed not only the impossible scope required by a 'national' framing but also difficulties in reconciling the temporal disparities of deep time, indigenous and non-indigenous histories.

I compared the settler-history driven narrative structure for *Tangled Destinies* with three display approaches for presenting people and place used in other museums: the deep time chronology of the National Museum of Victoria's Forest Gallery and the 'designed' juxtaposition favoured by both the Museum of Sydney's *Edge of the Trees* exhibit and the National Museum of Australia's *Garden of Australian Dreams*. While the concepts for *Tangled Destinies* and the Forest Gallery both adopted thematic structures, both share a problematic chronology. In the case of *Tangled Destinies*, the structure overwhelmingly favoured settler history at the expense of deep time scientific representation and an enduring occupation of Aboriginal people. In contrast, the insertion of settler and indigenous perspectives into the deep time scientific chronology of the Forest Gallery served to highlight negative environmental impacts. *The Edge of Trees* and *The Garden of Australian Dreams* avoided these chronological dilemmas by presenting a compression of time and space. The advantages offered by this later approach are disputed by many historians and critics who dismiss these 'art' practices as 'unreliable' historical interpretations or 'fuzzy' history with empty meaning.⁶

This reaction, which in the case of *The Garden of Australian Dreams* was particularly heated, raises doubts about the assumed benefits of multi-disciplinary display practice, given the enduring disciplinary territoriality and the challenges of 'intersecting constructively.' In the course of this analysis I identified three approaches to the production of multi-disciplinary displays engaging with people and place. The production of the *Tangled Destinies* exhibit featured an extensive team of academics and researchers that crossed science and culture but excluded designers. The multi-disciplinary team that produced the Forest Gallery differed only in that it included designers, while the 'material thinking' that inspired both the *Edge of Trees* and the *Garden of Australian Dreams* used

⁵ National Museum of Australia, *Yesterday Tomorrow : The National Museum of Australia* (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2001), p.11.

⁶ Kate Gregory, "Art and Artifice: Peter Emmett's Curatorial Practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney," *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 16, no. 1 (2006). pp.3-4.

designers to both conceptualise and design the display, resulting in displays that incorporated multiple references crossing science and culture.

The separation of the intellectual concept for *Tangled Destinies* from the design of the display contributed to the erosion of curatorial practice and the increased dominance of writing to display messages. This differs significantly from earlier museum practices where the collection itself and the underlying scientific paradigms guided display production, thereby requiring minimal translation between exhibition concept and physical design. While many critiques have questioned the validity of the material thinking that underpins the Garden of Australian Dreams, I argue for the value of this approach as an alternative strategy for displaying new stories that connect people and place while maintaining a curatorial practice reliant on 'things.' The analysis of the National Museum of Australia demonstrates the considerable impact of the display approaches advocated by the 'new museum' in combination with a new mandate to be representative of the nation on the production, content and experience of displays that engage with the natural world.

Limitations of Re-writing Landscape

The transformation of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park into a site of indigenous cultural and economic recovery proved equally challenging, and in many instances exceeded the transformative capability of landscape. While the repositioning of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga National Park as an Anangu cultural landscape was guided by the same government policies of self-determination that influenced the museum, this study has argued that the repositioning of the national park was a far more ambitious undertaking than the changes proposed for the museum. The National Museum of Australia could propose the representation of a 'national' nature *alongside* indigenous perspectives of place, but in a far more radical revision, the re-conceptualisation of Ayers Rock-Mt Olga was premised on the *replacement* of earlier framings as 'iconic national landscape' with paradigms of indigenous culture, accompanied by the recasting of the tourist experience from spectacle to education. This study has revealed many difficulties encountered in achieving these aims, and has questioned the assumption that it is possible to control how people interact and perceive 'landscape' and further, the assumption that tourism would provide economic and cultural recovery for the traditional owners.

With the exception of Anangu Tours, there is minimal evidence of indigenous involvement in tourism. Research into Aboriginal cultural tourism provides numerous explanations for

low participation rates, including the considerable intrusion into their life that Aboriginal people working with tourism experience. Studies also suggest that the formalisation of tourist encounters within spaces such as the Cultural Centre place the traditional owners under excessive scrutiny, particularly in comparison with earlier more informal interactions between tourists and the traditional owners, such as offered by the Ininti Garage. The tourist experience of the park as an Anangu cultural landscape occurs primarily through representation rather than direct contact with the traditional owners, and is presented through an experience of the Cultural Centre, narratives of guided tours, interpretive material and in-situ signage.

Despite the intent to revise the tourist experience of the landscape, examination of the park's infrastructure revealed a disjuncture between old and new park values: a 'new' interpretive layer of Anangu cultural values has been overlaid on a historic infrastructure of roads and viewing points that maintains the earlier patterns of spectacle and continues to emphasise the climb. I argue that this reluctance to re-align the physical infrastructure of the park with post-hand back park values can be traced to two issues: a reluctance to disrupt long-established tourist patterns of interaction such as the ability to drive around and climb the rock; and the continuing dominance of convenience and function in determining the design of tourist infrastructure.

Optimistic plans to recast the tourist experience of the landscape into an educative experience, primarily through the overlying of a new interpretive layer, have proved questionable. Unlike the museum where a new representation is a matter of developing a new exhibition, research into tourist motivations reveals that the globally-iconic landscape of post-hand back Uluru continues to inspire different meanings for different people, regardless of political intentions to recast the park as a site for Anangu economic and cultural recovery. This inability to control landscape experience and meaning extended to the ambitions to revise tourist representations of the park. While there is certainly evidence of major changes in the construction of tourist industry representations (yet surprisingly not postcards or climbing souvenirs) and government branding strategies to reflect park values, controlling 'meaning' is far more elusive. The iconic landscape continues to operate as a site for personal projection.

Epilogue

In 2006 Te Papa opened *Blood Fire and Earth*, the long-awaited environmental history of New Zealand. This exhibition, developed some fifteen years after the first exhibition concept that had proposed the exhibit *Shaping the Land*, fulfils the original intention of displaying an intertwining of European and Maori perspectives of environment, landscape and whenua. *Blood Fire and Earth* offers both celebratory and negative stories of New Zealand environmental history depicting, for example, the rapid loss of forests and wetlands and featuring a diorama depicting the extensive and rapid rate of bird extinction.⁷ Importantly, *Blood Fire and Earth* not only erases the physical and conceptual void between Te Papa's scientific and cultural history exhibitions but also provides one of the first exhibitions to depart from a cultural bifurcation of New Zealand history.

This interweaving of Maori and pakeha history reflects a shift from the opening-day emphasis on the representation of newly-devised bicultural national identity. This departure was shared by the first revisions proposed for the National Museum of Australia's opening-day exhibition programme that replaced an initial emphasis on nation with land, best demonstrated by the reframing of *Tangled Destinies* as a more regionally-focused environmental history. This 'second round' of exhibitions suggests a departure from the museum's origins in a remarkably intense period characterised by the intersection of new politically-constructed post colonial nationalism with the display approaches of the 'new museum'.

The same evolution is not shared by the national parks, which instead remain in a state of uncertainty. The ownership and management of Tongariro National Park remains unresolved, with the final report from the Waitangi Tribunal on the National Park inquiry unlikely to be completed before 2009. Paramount Chief Te Heuheu continues to advocate for greater iwi control in the park's management and a greater understanding of the intent of the gift.⁸ Ngati Tuwharetoa spokesman Paranapa Otimi has called for recognition of their cultural rights and for 'the tribal lands and mountains to be kept sacrosanct.'⁹

⁷ Display techniques range from traditional diorama to more interactive displays such as the maramataka seasonal calendar, a 'sheep cam' (video from a sheep's eye view) and interactive games where children can explore for unwanted pests imported to New Zealand. The display concludes with a series of multimedia personal stories that relate to the New Zealand landscape, featuring Pacific Islanders, Maori-speaking Chinese, pakeha, Maori, conservationists and farmers.

⁸ "Tribe Wants Mountains, National Park Back," *New Zealand Herald*, Saturday October 21 2006.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Despite the recognition of the Anangu as traditional owners more than twenty-five years ago, the situation at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is no clearer, with the Mutitjulu community struggling economically and culturally. In June 2007 Prime Minister John Howard announced an emergency intervention into remote Northern Territory Aboriginal communities, beginning with Mutitjulu. An inquest into deaths from petrol sniffing in 2005, two of which were at Mutitjulu, exposed the community as one of Australia's most dysfunctional.¹⁰ Coroner Greg Cavanagh described the community as ruled by an addiction-epidemic.¹¹ The inquest was followed by claims of sexual abuse of children and questions concerning the management of remote communities.¹² This collapse of the Mutitjulu community clearly demonstrates the failure of hand back to deliver economic and cultural self sufficiency to the Anangu people.

This situation, combined with the unresolved status of Tongariro, indicates the extent to which the national parks remain intertwined in the on-going resolution of land rights in Australia and New Zealand begun over thirty years ago. While the national museums continue to refine their representations of nation, land and people to reflect new preoccupations of the twenty-first century, the national parks remain in a state of tension, fluctuating as spaces of individual encounter, indigenous, national and global significance.

¹⁰ Karen Michelmore, "Sniffing," Australian Associated Press, 11 August 2005.

¹¹ Mr Andrews, manager of a joint community-government project at Mutitjulu, highlighted the mismanagement of funds obtained from the gate takings well illustrated by what he described as a 'World Heritage car dump' located close to the community which contained over 1000 broken down cars.

¹² In May 2006 ABC Four Corners program questioned the role of American Glendle Schrader in running companies on behalf of Wana Ungkunytyja the private sector arm of the Nyangatjatjara Aboriginal Corporation which includes Imanpa, Mutitjulu and Kaltukatjara (Dockers River) communities which turned over an estimated \$20 million a year. A former employer stated that 'The community at Uluru refer to him as the farmer; the Aboriginal people are the cattle and he just goes up every now and then to check on his stock. The people he is profiting [from] are starving and living in Third World conditions while he lives the high life.'

Glossary of Maori terms

The following terms are an indicative guide only to Maori terminology. For more information refer to the Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori.

iwi	tribe, people, nation
ihonui	heart
kaitiakitanga	principle of guardianship/ custodianship/stewardship
kawanatanga	principle of government
kaupapa	policy, plan, proposal
mana	power, prestige, respect, authority
mana taonga	the power and authority associated with the possession of taonga
mana whenua	the power and authority associated with the possession of lands
Maori	person of indigenous descent to New Zealand
matauranga	knowledge
Matauranga Maori	an iwi specific belief system for ordering and conceiving the world
mauri	life essence
marae	space in front of a meeting house but can also refer to all of the community facilities around the house
maunga	mountains
pa	fortified village, former name for a marae complex
pakiwaitara	stories
pakeha	person of European descent (non-Maori)
pataka	storehouse
Papatuanuku	earth mother
pounamu	green stone, jade
poupou	carved side wall post or slab of a house
rangatiratanga	Chieftenship, chiefly authority, power or sovereignty
tangata	people (pl.)
taonga	highly prized treasure
tapu	sacred

Te Papa Tongarewa	a receptacle of treasured possession
tikanga	customary rules, practices or set of beliefs associated with Maori cultural practices and procedures
tino rangatiratanga	principle of traditional iwi authority
tiriti	treaty
tupuna	ancestor
waharoa	gateway
waka	carved canoe
waiata	song
whanau	family
whakapapa	a genealogy that codifies knowledge according to relationships and interactions with the world, including human interactions
whaikorero	speeches
whakawhaungatanga	principle of partnership
whakatauki	proverb, saying
wharenui	big house
whenua	land, after birth
urupa	burial ground

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